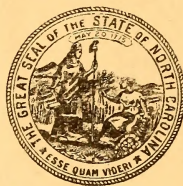





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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

*Published by the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.*

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DAVID LEROY CORBITT, *Assistant Editor*

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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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VOLUME XII

JANUARY, 1935

NUMBER 1

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## THE TRANSITION FROM THE GERMAN TO THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN NORTH CAROLINA

By WILLIAM H. GEHRKE

### I

#### THE GERMAN PERIOD, 1747-1790

Practically throughout the eighteenth century the Pennsylvania-Germans<sup>1</sup> in North Carolina remained German in speech, although, from the beginning of their settlement, a few were able to speak English. John Ramsauer of the present Lincoln County kept a "Mamberranton" of his journey to North Carolina, in which such entries appear as "August 27 day 1752 to his gorney went . . . Cot to my gorneys ent to Antry Lamberts tis 6 day of October."<sup>2</sup> Martin Phifer's knowledge of English must have been considerable, since he represented Mecklenburg County in the General Assembly of 1764. In 1771, the Episcopal rector in Rowan County declared that frequently such Lutherans as understood English attended his services.<sup>3</sup> On one occasion in 1773, an English traveler in the present Alamance County found it impossible to make his inquiries intelligible,<sup>4</sup> while on a previous visit to this region he had found at least one "Dutchman" with whom he could carry on a conversation.<sup>5</sup> In Burke County, "Paul Henkel in 1787 delivered

<sup>1</sup> Available records of the small colony of Palatines, who settled in and near New Bern in 1710, are too meager to trace the transition to English. In 1740, twenty-five Palatines (some with Anglicized names, or more probably, Palatines and English) signed an agreement to have a chapel built on Trent River "for the use of the high Germans and the Church of England . . . to be called the palatine Church or the high German Chapel." Craven County Record of Deeds, I, 417. The Moravians, who in 1753 established a colony in the present Forsyth County, have been omitted from this study, since they formed a distinct community without any appreciable contact for more than fifty years with the other German settlements. Moreover, their diaries (German to 1854) are in course of publication in an English translation. Neither has notice been taken of German settlements made during the second half of the nineteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Nixon, Joseph R., "The German Settlers in Lincoln County and Western North Carolina." *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XI (1912), No. 2, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, VIII, 506. (This work is hereafter cited as *C. R.*)

<sup>4</sup> Smyth, John Ferdinand Dalziel, *A Tour in the United States of America* (Dublin, 1784), 153.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Holt. *Ibid.*, 147.

various German and English sermons."<sup>6</sup> A number of Germans chose English or Scotch-Irish wives, as Frederick Fischer,<sup>7</sup> who married Anne McBride. However, the majority of Germans spoke only their native language. During the stormy days of 1775, a committee, appointed by the Continental Congress to issue an address to the Germans in North Carolina and in New York,<sup>8</sup> declared that "even though occasionally a few English newspapers reach the interior and frontiers of these provinces, the Germans cannot read them."<sup>9</sup> Until about 1793, they obtained books, pastors, and teachers directly from Germany.<sup>10</sup>

### THE ORIGINAL DIALECT

Since spelling is the key to pronunciation, one may, on the basis of misspelled words in wills and on home-hewn tombstones, arrive at a conclusion as to the dialect characteristics. Thus *Verstand* is spelled *Verstant*; *Tochter*, *Dochter*;<sup>11</sup> September, Sepdember;<sup>12</sup> Margaret, Markret;<sup>13</sup> *alte Plantage*, *alde blan-dasche*.<sup>14</sup> Also the vowels and diphthongs had a sound peculiar to these Germans. *Schaf*, *Deutschland*, *bestätigen*, *rühret*, were written and pronounced *Schoaf*, *Deitschlant*,<sup>15</sup> *bestetigen*,<sup>16</sup> and *rihret*,<sup>17</sup> respectively, though the preposition *für* was written *vor*.<sup>18</sup>

In brief, on the lips of the Germans, the labials *p*, *b*, *f*, *v* were sounded *b*, *p*, *v*, *f*, respectively, and the reverse; the dentals *t* and *d* were pronounced *d* and *t*; the palatals *k* and *g* became *g* and *k*;

<sup>6</sup> [Henkel, Paul], "Kurze Nachricht von den Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchen und ihrer gegenwärtigen Lage in Nord Carolina," *Verrichtungen der Special-Conferenz der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Prediger und Abgeordneten im Staate Virginien* (New Market, Virginia, 1806), 20.

<sup>7</sup> He died in 1796. Storch, Carl August Gottlieb, Manuscript Journal. Library of Mt. Pleasant Collegiate Institute.

<sup>8</sup> *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1905), II, 126.

<sup>9</sup> Weiss, Ludwig, *Schreiben des Evangelisch-Lutherisch und Reformirten Kirchen-Raths, wie auch der Beamten der Deutschen Gesellschaft in der Stadt Philadelphia, an die Deutschen Einwohner der Provinzen von Newyork und Nord-Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1775), 9.

<sup>10</sup> C. R. VIII, 506 et seq.; Velthusen, Johann Caspar, *Nordcarolinische Kirchennachrichten*. Zweytes und letztes Heft (Stade, 1792), 32. The last German pastor immigrated in 1789.

<sup>11</sup> Will of Henrich Frölich. Rowan County Wills, North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>12</sup> Epitaph of Anna Maria Eischer, St. John's Cemetery, Cabarrus County.

<sup>13</sup> Epitaph of Margaret Reitenauer. *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Will of Georg Michael Heilig. Rowan County Wills, North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>15</sup> Epitaph. St. John's Cemetery, Cabarrus County.

<sup>16</sup> Will of Henrich Frölich. Rowan County Wills, North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>17</sup> Epitaph of Margreta Walcher. St. John's Cemetery, Cabarrus County.

<sup>18</sup> Arends, Johann Gottfried, Manuscript Journal. Archives of the United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina, Lenoir-Rhyne College. (These archives were placed at the author's disposal through the courtesy of Pastor Carroll Yount and Professor Victor Adderholt.)

the *Umlaute* *ä* and *ü* were sounded like the German *e* and *i*; the diphthong *eu* had the sound of *ei*.

Not only did these Germans dearly love their mother tongue, but they also wanted to transmit it uncorrupted to the generations yet to be born. Thus, in the German settlements of Rowan County, Salisbury was called *Salzburg*.<sup>19</sup> In 1789, Arnold Roschen warned his catechumens on Abbott's Creek, Davidson County, against contracting marriages with the English and Irish in order that "German blood and the German language be preserved and more and more disseminated."<sup>20</sup>

### THE MIXED DIALECT

In spite of all precautions, English expressions crept into the colloquial language. This transition was first noticeable by words employed in business, and terms for things with which the Germans had not been acquainted in the Fatherland, such as note (*Schein*), fence (*Zaun*), board<sup>21</sup> (*Kost*), Steer, *Stier* (*Ochse*), Bushel, *Buschell* (*Scheffel*), Boards, *Borts* (*Bretter*), Frame, *Frem*<sup>22</sup> (*Gestell*). While Storch wrote such conscious violations of German speech in Latin characters, Arends, after a stay of twenty years in the State, employed the German orthography, including capitalization of nouns.

An interesting word is the hybrid *gesettled*, meaning satisfying a bill. Not only did Storch write this term in German characters, but, German being a highly inflected language, he also added the German prefix *ge*. Similarly, in the term *gruppen* (grubbing), the German suffix replaced the English ending. Arends, who, it seems, had a heavier brogue than the more highly educated Storch, not only added German prefixes and suffixes to English words, as *gegrupt* (grubbed) and *Fenzen* (fences), but occasionally attached an *English* ending to a corrupted German word, as *Nagells* for *Nägel* (nails). These borrowed and hybrid words were undoubtedly pronounced in the

<sup>19</sup> Boyd, William K., and Krummel, Charles A., "German Tracts concerning the Lutheran Church in North Carolina during the Eighteenth Century," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VII, 242.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 245.

<sup>21</sup> Storch, Manuscript Journal.

<sup>22</sup> Arends, Manuscript Journal.

German fashion, since *Second Creek* and *Muddy Creek* were written *Seeken Crück* (pronounced say'ken crick) and *Mode* (pronounced mo'de) *Crück*.<sup>23</sup>

### THE BI-LINGUAL PERIOD, 1790-1825

Conditions in North Carolina during the eighteenth century were unfavorable for the preservation of the German language. Although in one region<sup>24</sup> the German element, according to the first census, formed as much as forty per cent of the population, there was practically no further influx after 1790; pastors<sup>25</sup> and schools were few in number, and there was no German press in the State.<sup>26</sup> Probably as a result of the close association of the Germans with English-speaking Americans during the Revolutionary War, considerable progress in the acquisition of English had been made in 1790. Children who, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, had completed the course in religion in the "German schools," attended the "English school"; and some parents began reading books printed in English.<sup>27</sup>

The transition to English was especially noticeable in Salisbury, a village of fifty or sixty dwellings in 1790, of which ten were German homes.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, at least two of these German families, John Lewis Beard<sup>29</sup> and Frederick Fischer,<sup>30</sup> had been in business for many years. Hence, almost immediately upon his arrival in 1788, Storch opened a small school for the express purpose of teaching the children a "purer German."<sup>31</sup> After a few years, he abandoned Salisbury as a preaching place, since

<sup>23</sup> Arends, Manuscript Journal.

<sup>24</sup> The present Rowan, Cabarrus, Davidson, and Davie counties.

<sup>25</sup> As late as 1810, only two pastors served the Lutheran churches in the present Rowan, Davidson, Cabarrus, Stanly, Guilford, and perhaps also in the present Alamance and Randolph counties. *Minutes of the Lutheran North Carolina Synod, 1810*. At this time the German Reformed apparently had only one resident pastor in the State, Good, Reverend James I., D.D., *History of the Reformed Church in the United States in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1911), 198 *et seq.*

<sup>26</sup> Nüssmann declared in 1788 that a German press "would serve a great purpose in the spread of religion and would easily find support here." Boyd and Krummel, *op. cit.*, VII, 239. The Moravians set up a press in the nineteenth century. Philo White of Salisbury printed German copy in 1823, but used Latin type. *Minutes of the N. C. Synod, 1823*. *Die Südliche Post*, a weekly German paper published by Julius A. Bonitz in Goldsboro, North Carolina, in 1869, probably circulated only outside of the State, although it may have had a few subscribers in Wilmington.

<sup>27</sup> Storch, Manuscript Journal.

<sup>28</sup> Velthusen, *Nordcarolinische Kirchennachrichten*, 16.

<sup>29</sup> Died 1788. He was a "butcher" and perhaps also a tanner. Deed, Sept. 9, 1768, to Michael Brown *et al.*; Rowan County will, 1788, North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>30</sup> Rowan County Court Minute Book, I, August, 1771, 279. Arends bought Schugger (sugar) and other groceries from him. Arends, Manuscript Journal.

<sup>31</sup> Boyd and Krummel, *op. cit.*, 240.

the Germans had become English in speech.<sup>32</sup> Although in 1791, he made the following entry in his journal, "pro baptismo inf. Angl. hg. 8 sh."<sup>33</sup> his knowledge of English was not sufficient to preach an acceptable English sermon.

The settlers along Abbott's Creek also drifted into English. While in June, 1789, a few months after his arrival, Roschen had declared the prospects to be favorable for the spreading of the German language, in May, 1790, he stated that although much German was still spoken in the settlement, "the Germans rather speak English than German." Within a year he had learned to "read, write, and speak English" and to perform marriage ceremonies in English.<sup>34</sup>

On May 20, 1794, the Lutheran pastors in the State assembled at St. John's Church in Cabarrus County and ordained a Scotchman, Robert Johnston Miller, as an Episcopal rector.<sup>35</sup> Because he served Lutheran churches, the Germans usually regarded him as the "English Lutheran pastor."<sup>36</sup>

On February 14, 1801, Storch took his quill pen and wrote in his journal: "pro baptismo angl. et copul. Jac. Schmidt mit Christ. Schellenberger." Viewed in the light of the evident progress of English, this Latin and German entry could be translated: "For the English baptism and marriage of James Schmidt and Christine Schellenberger." A German couple requested that the marriage rites be read in English and in return for this concession gave the pastor a liberal perquisite, £8.

As usual, progress was a broken rather than a straight line. In the rural communities centering around St. John's and Organ Lutheran churches and Lowerstone Reformed Church in Cabarrus and Rowan counties, the transition was slower. St. John's school must still have been entirely German,<sup>37</sup> since instructions even in geography were given through the medium of German on

<sup>32</sup> [Henkel, Paul], *op. cit.*, 19.

<sup>33</sup> "For the baptism of an English infant, eight shillings, hard money."

<sup>34</sup> Boyd and Krummel, *op. cit.*, VII, 261.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. his ordination certificate. Bernheim, G. D., *History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1872), 339.

<sup>36</sup> [Henkel, Paul], *op. cit.*, 23. *Minutes of the North Carolina Synod*, May, 1803.

<sup>37</sup> Rev. Adolph Nüssmann is reported as having written in 1837 of "several of my English grammar schools" (Boyd and Krummel, *op. cit.*, VII, 124), a translation which, due to a fatal blur of an adjective, finds some support in a photostat (Duke University) of the first reprint of Nüssmann's letter. However, according to the original reprint Nüssmann wrote, *Einige kleine englische grammatische Schulen*. He is referring to the schools of other race elements.

the basis of a text the teacher, Friesland, had obtained through Storch from Germany.<sup>38</sup>

The members of Lowerstone, begun in 1795 and completed in 1811, believing that the neighborhood would remain German for many years to come, used rock-hewn German inscriptions.

In 1801, Paul Henkel wrote that he had preached at Zion (Organ) Church to the Germans on Matthew 7:14, and then to the English on 2nd Corinthians 7:1.<sup>39</sup> While this statement contains the implication that the English services were held for the benefit of such as were of English ancestry, probably Episcopalians, the choice of another text for the English sermon argues that it must have been intended also for such Germans as had learned their three R's in "English schools," following the closing of the "German school" upon Arends's elevation to the ministry in 1775.<sup>40</sup>

At the second convention of the North Carolina Synod, there were "representatives of the Germans and of the English and everything was presented in the English as well as in the German language."<sup>41</sup> Contrary to the opinion generally held, this Synod was not, nor was it originally intended to be, a purely Lutheran body, but rather a "Convention of the Lutheran and Episcopalian Churches [in North Carolina]."<sup>42</sup> Thus, at the turn of the century, particularly the older Germans were still so German that they could be effectively reached only in their own language.

However, after 1810 the trend in all sections was decidedly in the direction of English. In that year the Synod ordered a letter to the congregations printed in both languages.<sup>43</sup> In 1811, the minutes of the Synod appeared also in an English edition. In this year "many German, and especially English, catechisms were desired by the people."<sup>44</sup> It is said that John Phiher<sup>45</sup> did not

<sup>38</sup> Storch, Manuscript Journal.

<sup>39</sup> Gräbner, Theodore, translator, "Diary of Paul Henkel, April and May, 1801," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, I, 17.

<sup>40</sup> Boyd and Krummel, *op. cit.*, VII, 144.

<sup>41</sup> *Minutes of the North Carolina Synod*, May, 1803.

<sup>42</sup> R. J. Miller to Dr. A. Empie, February 17, 1814, reprinted in *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina* (Wilmington, N. C., 1892), 389.

<sup>43</sup> *Minutes*, 1810. The minutes from 1803 to 1810 remained in MS. form until 1811.

<sup>44</sup> Excerpt from Paul Henkel's travellog in Gräbner, A. L., *Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in America* (St. Louis, 1892), 612.

<sup>45</sup> Born 1779.

teach his children German.<sup>46</sup> By 1811 this practice had gradually become the rule, and even though many parents still spoke German in their homes, the children, because of the decay of the German school, were unable to read German.

Appended to a rather lengthy but almost illegible "New Year's Wish for the Old and the Married," penned on October 10, 1812, by a poetically inclined German of Alamance County, is the following German note:

If you ever write something again, by all means do better. This is an evil thing. Such poor spelling! It is a disgrace. It is not written evenly and the words are not properly placed.<sup>47</sup>

This cruel review would indicate that to the sorrow and disgust of the older people the ability to write good German was gradually fading out. In fact, at Lau's Church, Schober delivered a brief English address in 1812, because a few communicants could not understand German.<sup>48</sup> In the present Davie County the Germans were reading English newspapers, for in 1816 Nicholas Click requested his merchant and postmaster to "write to the Editors of the Union friends in York, Pa., to stopt a paper sent from their press."<sup>49</sup>

#### EFFORTS TO PRESERVE THE GERMAN LANGUAGE

Since the parents had permitted their children to Americanize their speech, the clergy now became the champions of the German language. In 1812 the Synod resolved to admit only such children to a proposed school for orphans as expressed a willingness to learn German and English.<sup>50</sup> Two years later the pastors were urged to open German day-schools for all children, particularly for boys,<sup>51</sup> perhaps to insure the reading of German religious literature by future pastors. The Synod also resolved to establish a fund to supplement the salaries of inadequately paid teachers, a treasury which failed to receive popular support.<sup>52</sup> In 1816 the Synod recommended the founding of Sunday-

<sup>46</sup> Wheeler, John H., *Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians* (Columbus, Ohio, 1884), LXVII.

<sup>47</sup> Original MS. in the possession of the author.

<sup>48</sup> *Minutes*, 1812.

<sup>49</sup> Transcript of a store ledger, through the courtesy of Miss Mary Heitman, historian of Davie County.

<sup>50</sup> *Minutes*, 1812.

<sup>51</sup> *Minutes*, 1814.

<sup>52</sup> *Minutes*, 1815.

schools,<sup>53</sup> the enrollments of which were to be limited to such children as desired to learn to read German, a plan already in successful operation in Philip Henkel's five congregations in Tennessee, where two hundred and sixty children had learned to read German in twelve months; and in Schober's charge in Stokes County, where women teachers from the Moravian colony at Salem taught German reading.<sup>54</sup>

Among the reasons for advocating the founding of a "weekly or monthly German Evangelical periodical" or the printing of German tracts, Rev. Jacob Scherer of Guilford County placed the following first:

Our Germans, young and old, will then practise reading our language. When they receive such a tract, they will certainly want to know what is in it. . . This would be a means of maintaining the German language.<sup>55</sup>

#### THE ARGUMENTS FOR GERMAN

Why this insistence on German when in 1789 some already had realized that ignorance of English was a handicap?<sup>56</sup> Pastors, whose training and libraries were German, found it difficult and, in some cases, impossible to prepare English sermons. There is a trace of this difficulty in the following:

Since I should like to have a confirmation service in *Friedens* Church on the second [of August] and several of the confirmands are English as well as some of the communicants, it will be necessary to preach in both languages. How pleased I shall be when you come! Can you and will you?<sup>57</sup>

The main reason for clinging to the German language was that the older Germans believed a degeneration in morals and religion to be a positive concomitant of the English language. Writing in 1806, Paul Henkel says:

About twenty years ago there was a rather strong congregation in the city of Salisbury. . . . But, since the Germans degenerated [*ausarteteten*] into English, the German services have disappeared. . .

Eighteen miles from Salisbury another church . . . may be found.<sup>58</sup> But since it was mingled with the English people, the Ger-

<sup>53</sup> The first official notice of Sunday-schools by the Lutheran Church in America, occurs in *Minutes*, 1812.

<sup>54</sup> *Minutes*, 1816.

<sup>55</sup> Letter, Jacob Scherer to Gottlieb Schober, July 25, 1817. In Archives of the United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina. Lenoir-Rhyne College.

<sup>56</sup> Boyd and Krummel, *op. cit.*, VII. 261; Velthusen, *Kirchennachrichten*, 23.

<sup>57</sup> Scherer to Schober, July 25, 1817, *loc. cit.*

<sup>58</sup> Dutchman's Creek in Davie.

man congregation is disappearing. Several years ago . . . many of the English joined the congregation with the Germans. In the services which Mr. Paul Henkel held there every fall, from 1785 to 1789, some adults, indeed, old people, were instructed and confirmed. . . . Some soon split into different strange sects. The Germans degenerated. . . .<sup>59</sup>

Upon his return from a missionary journey to Virginia, Robert Johnston Miller reported to the Synod:

Lutherans . . . lose their religion with the German language. . . . The congregations are insensibly molding away for want of preachers who speak both languages. . . .<sup>60</sup>

When the agitation for the preservation of the German language was at its height, an "Address to the German Protestant Church in North America" appeared in a German magazine, which had subscribers in North Carolina. Compressed into a single paragraph, the author wrote:

Teaching children only English is a sign of religious indifference. Children are thus deprived of German religious literature, which, because of the poverty of the English language, cannot be translated. Esra 3, 12-13 will apply to English churches. Our sterling church tunes will be exchanged for syncopations and, instead of our present hymnal, we shall have a collection of odes and airs. The Ten Tribes lost their religion and character with their language. Disasterously the change of language will affect the morals of our youth. German sincerity will be exchanged for compliments; the shaking of hands, with deep bows; the inheritance will be squandered on finery and fashions, on preserving a youthful appearance and curling of the hair. Parents are beginning to speak such a motley mixture of German and English that even enemies could not do more to adulterate our language. Germans neglect their mother tongue and the English learn it for the sake of German erudition. Our children shall learn perfect English; but they shall also learn German.<sup>61</sup>

With a similar purpose, but without displaying a similar bitterness toward English, young David Henkel of Lincoln County, now a member of the more conservative Tennessee Synod, reasoned in English:

Most of our theological books are written in German. . . . If knowledge of the German is lost, the peculiar doctrines of our church

<sup>59</sup> [Henkel, Paul], *op. cit.*, 19, 20.

<sup>60</sup> *Minutes*, 1812.

<sup>61</sup> *Evangelisches Magazin*, II (1813), 65-71.

will be forgotten in another generation, provided there be no accurate translations. . . . Unbiased, liberal minds . . . among my English brethren . . . justly explode (*sic*) those young Germans who have German-speaking parents and do not learn their mother tongue. . . .<sup>62</sup>

### ENGLISH MARCHES ON

All efforts to preserve the German language proved to be only the shroud for its decent burial. At the convention, held in Pilgrim Church in Davidson County in 1817, the Synod, which until then had no definite name, but was generally regarded as the "german Lutheran Synod,"<sup>63</sup> adopted the name, "The Evangelical Lutheran German and English Synod of North Carolina and Adjacent States,"<sup>64</sup> and thus gave official recognition to a condition that had existed for a number of years—the churches had become bi-lingual. An English hymnal and a liturgy were recommended for use in the services. Above all, the manuscript of the first English volume, published by authority of the Synod, was presented for examination by its author, Gottlieb Schober.<sup>65</sup> It was popularly called *Luther*, but the official title was more ambitious.<sup>66</sup>

In these sessions German also received a due share of consideration: it remained the official language, a new German hymnal was adopted, and especially German tracts were to be distributed in all congregations. On the question, "Shall there be an English secretary [in addition to the German secretary]?" six voted aye, and nine, nay.<sup>67</sup>

Although the English catechism had found a ready sale in

<sup>62</sup> Henkel, David, *Carolinian Herald of Liberty* (Salisbury, N. C., 1821), 43n.

<sup>63</sup> Joseph Bell's license, October 22, 1816. In the Archives of the United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina, Lenoir-Rhyne College.

<sup>64</sup> Manuscript Minutes, 1817. The words *German* and *English* were discarded before 1826 without a resolution.

<sup>65</sup> A Moravian from Salem, who had received Lutheran ordination in 1810 (*Minutes*, 1810). For more than twenty years he served Lutheran churches in this State.

<sup>66</sup> *A Comprehensive Account of the Rise and Progress of the Christian Church by Doctor Martin Luther Began (sic) on the thirty-first of October, A.D. 1517 Interspersed with Views of his Character and Doctrine, extracted from his Books, and how the Church, established by him, arrived and progressed in North America—as also, the Constitution and Rules of that Church, in North Carolina and adjoining States, as existing in October, 1817.* "Printed [1500 copies] for the German and English Lutheran Synod of North Carolina and adjoining States, by Schaeffer and Maund, Printers, Booksellers and Stationers, Baltimore, 1818." (X and 213 pp. Sold @ 75.)

<sup>67</sup> Manuscript Minutes, 1817. In the Archives of the United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina, Lenoir-Rhyne College.

1811, the English hymnal needed special promotion in 1817. The printer wrote:

If the book [English hymnal] would only have a better sale among the common people, which, it seems, is not the case among you. . . . I wish you would send me a certificate as soon as possible that the English catechism and the hymnal in English have been adopted and sign your name as secretary. I intend to have this (certificate) . . . bound with the catechism and hymnals. . . . If I succeed in disposing of one, then everybody may see that the other book has also been adopted. . . .<sup>68</sup>

On the basis of a memorandum<sup>69</sup> of the requisitions for printed minutes in 1819, the subjoined tabulation has been prepared:

PASTOR	MAIN PARISH	GERMAN COPIES	ENGLISH
Storch	Rowan and Cabarrus	100	25
Jacob Scherer	Guilford	50	12
R. J. Miller	Lincoln, Burke	25	50
D. Moser	Lincoln	75	----
David Henkel	Lincoln	----	75
Schober	Stokes, Rowan (Davie)	50	25

However, neither the slow sale of English hymnals nor the limited distribution of English synodical reports is a true index of the status of English at this time. German remained in the church, always an exceedingly conservative institution, long after it had surrendered to English in everyday life.<sup>70</sup> Familiar with the true conditions in North Carolina, the disappointed New Market printer exclaimed: "How we can be deceived with books! . . . When I worked on the English hymnal, I thought, 'If I had it for sale, I could pay all my debts.'" <sup>71</sup>

After totaling the orders for the printed minutes and leaving a margin for supplying later needs, Schober wrote, "700 Dutch & 500 english,"<sup>72</sup>—another unintentional commentary on the language question of those days. The Germans had gradually begun to regard themselves as "Dutch," a term which they had

<sup>68</sup> Solomon Henkel to Gottlieb Schober, November 25, 1817, *loc. cit.*

<sup>69</sup> Manuscript Minutes, 1819, *loc. cit.*

<sup>70</sup> In the Middle West the author has heard grace spoken at the table in German by one otherwise unable to speak German.

<sup>71</sup> Letter. Henkel to Schober. In the Archives of the United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina, Lenoir-Rhyne College.

<sup>72</sup> Manuscript Minutes, 1819, *loc. cit.*

formerly considered as insulting and abusive.<sup>73</sup> Expecting criticisms of "errors in style and grammar," the translator of the German minutes added the *nota bene*: "The critic may take his pen and ink and correct as he reads along."<sup>74</sup>

The time was now ripe for an English newspaper in the rather strongly German Rowan County. While shortly after 1800 the *North Carolina Mercury & Salisbury Advertiser* suspended publication, on June 13, 1820, Krider and Bingham, the former of German extraction, formed a partnership and launched the *Western Carolinian* in Salisbury.

In 1820, a small group of North Carolina Germans, under the leadership of David Henkel, became charter members of the Tennessee Synod, which was determined to be and remain an entirely German organization. However, because of its small membership, it cannot be regarded as reflecting public opinion in North Carolina. Moreover, the polemics against English in the first synodical report testify to the presence of an English-speaking element also in this Synod. We translate:

When some of the Germans in our day can preach a little English, even if they speak it like a foreigner, they are filled with so much stupid pride, that they would no longer preach in their mother tongue and would not concern themselves about the regulations of their church, if it were not necessary to preserve their daily bread and the good will of a number of stiff Germans.<sup>75</sup>

It is interesting to note that in the following year, D. Reinhardt, secretary of Pleasant Retreat Academy, located in Lincolnton, the North Carolina fortress of the Tennessee Synod, advertised: "If required, pupils will be instructed in the German and Hebrew languages."<sup>76</sup> In the same year an English edition of the Tennessee minutes appeared, and, what is more, "some of our brethren of North Carolina" obtained permission to form an English wing of the Tennessee Synod.<sup>77</sup> Failing in this way to sift out the English-speaking element, the Synod

<sup>73</sup> When in 1798 a certain Doctor Freeling ran for office, his opponent referred to him as a "Dutch Doctor"; but fearing that this term might cost him the German vote, Basil Gaither added: "I give him this appellation, not out of contempt either of person or country, but the public will more generally know him by that description than by Doctor Freeling." *North Carolina Journal*, November 5, 1798.

<sup>74</sup> *Minutes*, 1819.

<sup>75</sup> *Minutes of the Tennessee Synod*, 1820, 31.

<sup>76</sup> *Western Carolinian*, July 17, 1821.

<sup>77</sup> *Minutes of the Tennessee Synod*, 1821.

appointed the secretary to act as "interpreter" on the floor of the convention.<sup>78</sup> In 1827 the Tennessee Synod capitulated by adopting an English constitution, containing "Regulation IV":

Every discussion on a proposition, or subject, shall first take place in the German language; whereupon the same shall be resumed in the English: provided there shall be both German and English members present.<sup>79</sup>

German was a declining language. Nüssmann died in 1794; Roschen, who in 1789 hoped to Germanize the State, returned to Germany in 1800; Christian Bernhardt accepted a call to South Carolina in 1800; Arends died in 1807; about 1825 Storch, the last of the emissaries from Germany, resigned from the active ministry. American-born pastors now served the churches and church records in English gradually appeared.

According to the first available reports on the male and female academies at Salisbury, John Vogler, Henry A. Krider, Marcus Beard, William Beard, Charles Savage, Jane Fisher,<sup>80</sup> and Albertine Utzman, all of German parentage, did commendable work in English grammar, reading, and spelling.<sup>81</sup>

A new era had begun. But before discussing the new era, it is pertinent to inquire whether a battle of the languages took place in North Carolina.

A footnote in the first minutes of the Tennessee Synod, stating in substance that "experience" had shown that two languages cause friction,<sup>82</sup> indicates, since this "experience" was gained in the North Carolina Synod, that the trend towards English in the latter synod must have met with marked opposition from the more conservative, called the "stiff Germans" (*steife Deutschen*).<sup>83</sup> Discussing the state of the American Lutheran Church in 1815, the Reverend John Bachman, Charleston, South Carolina, in 1858 condemned the "bigoted attachment of our ancestors, especially the clergy, to a foreign language."<sup>84</sup> A Presbyterian pastor of Rowan County German antecedents in 1881 re-

<sup>78</sup> *Minutes of the Tennessee Synod*, 1826.

<sup>79</sup> *Constitution of the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod* (Salem, North Carolina, 1828). *Minutes of the Tennessee Synod*, 1827.

<sup>80</sup> *Western Carolinian*, June 19, 1821.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, December 18, 1821.

<sup>82</sup> *Minutes of the Tennessee Synod*, 1820.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>84</sup> Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church*, 420.

ferred to the language transition as an "ordeal," without further elucidating his remark.<sup>85</sup>

However, contemporary records, by their scantiness and contents, show that the zeal for simon-pure German churches was never as great among the lay members as, for example, in Tennessee, where in 1815 a congregation forbade Philip Henkel to preach in English,<sup>86</sup> or in Philadelphia, where in 1815 some pledged their lives to resist the introduction of English services—and then were found guilty by the Superior Court of a conspiracy against peaceful German fellow citizens.<sup>87</sup> In North Carolina, the Lutherans for about fifty years were more or less linked with the Episcopalians, while the German Reformed had an affinity for the Presbyterians. Moreover, Robert Johnston Miller, in 1803 and 1804, served the Lutheran Synod as secretary and in 1812, as president, although as late as 1813<sup>88</sup> he confessed his inability to speak German. Convinced that he would receive relief, a member, residing in Tennessee, in 1815 complained to the North Carolina Synod that his pastor had omitted English services.<sup>89</sup> Storch, who, according to tradition, could converse fluently in five languages, of which four, as appears from his journal, were German, French, Latin, and English, probably was not inclined to insist on German to the exclusion of English. Furthermore, in his theology he was somewhat removed from conservative Lutheranism and, for that reason, unlike the pastors of the Tennessee Synod, not bound solely to German authors.

Even Paul Henkel, a native of Rowan County, and his sons, Philip and David, the leading spirits of the Tennessee Synod and the triple alliance for the protection of the German language, while serving congregations in North Carolina, always granted English the right of existence. In fact, the first English sermons in North Carolina by a German pastor were delivered by Paul Henkel in 1787.<sup>90</sup> By translating the catechism and compiling an English hymnal, he did more to pave the way for English churches in this State than any other pastor. Philip, who regu-

<sup>85</sup> Rumple, Reverend Jethro, *History of Rowan County, North Carolina* (Salisbury, N. C., 1916, reprint), 45.

<sup>86</sup> *Minutes of the North Carolina Synod*, 1815.

<sup>87</sup> Gräbner, *Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in America*, 542.

<sup>88</sup> *Minutes*, 1813.

<sup>89</sup> *Minutes*, 1815.

<sup>90</sup> [Henkel], *Kurze Nachricht*, 20.

larly preached English, formed the resolution which resulted in Schober's *Luther*<sup>91</sup> and later trusted the book would have a "salutary effect in all congregations."<sup>92</sup> David, who probably wrote a more facile English than any other German pastor in the State, issued English pamphlets and conducted much, perhaps all, of his correspondence in English.

In short, the records testify to the existence of tolerance of, rather than antipathy towards, the English language. The objective of the proponents of German, who, from the beginning, must have regarded German a lost cause in North Carolina, was the preservation of German, rather than the extinction of English.

#### THE ENGLISH PERIOD, 1825—

In 1825 a member of the North Carolina Synod expressed the opinion that "many congregations could be organized in this State, if we had several capable English pastors."<sup>93</sup> Since the traveling missionary visited only neglected German settlements,<sup>94</sup> it is evident that for some years the Synod was mainly concerned about the spiritual welfare of lapsed Lutherans and people of German descent.

The knowledge of idiomatic English at this time was sufficient for an appreciation of good literature, since the criticisms of some translated catechisms were directed, not only against doctrinal changes, but also against unsatisfactory phraseology.<sup>95</sup> Of four services conducted on Synodical Sunday in St. Paul's Church in Lincoln County in 1827, three were held in the English language.<sup>96</sup> One of the last German entries in the records of *Friedens Church* in Guilford County is penned in the following crude German: "Communicanten auf den dritten Sondag [sic] nacht [sic] Ostern welches [sic] ist den [sic] 28sten [sic] April 1828."<sup>97</sup> The number of printed English minutes in 1828 and 1829 equaled the German: three hundred. However, in 1829

<sup>91</sup> *Minutes*, 1816.

<sup>92</sup> *Minutes*, 1817.

<sup>93</sup> *Minutes*, 1825.

<sup>94</sup> Manuscript Report, Rosenmiller to Synod. No date, probably 1830, *loc. cit.*

<sup>95</sup> *Minutes*, 1825.

<sup>96</sup> *Minutes*, 1827.

<sup>97</sup> *Friedens Church Record*. Parsonage of Friedens Lutheran Church, Gibsonville, N. C.

Storch and Daniel Scherer, and in 1830 Schober, were requested to translate the proceedings into German,<sup>98</sup> evidence that English had become the official language.

In the rural districts German still alternated with English services, but the business meetings must have been conducted mainly in English, since the credentials of the lay delegates from Organ Church were written in English.<sup>99</sup> When the Missionary Society convened in this church in 1831, addresses were, for the first time since its organization under an English constitution in 1828,<sup>100</sup> delivered in both languages.<sup>101</sup> At the organization in Guilford County in 1831 of the North Carolina Classis of the Reformed Church, eight services, not including a prayer meeting, were held, of which five were in English. The minutes were printed in English only. While in 1834 German and English services were held at Union, Hartman's, Holshouser's, Sweisgood's, and Leonard's churches<sup>102</sup> in Rowan and Davidson counties. Rev. Henry Graeber in his message in 1834 raised the question, "Could the money expended for German minutes not be applied to better purposes?"<sup>103</sup> The Synod did not share this opinion; but in 1837 it excused the president for his failure, on account of the lack of funds, to have three hundred of the one thousand copies printed in German.<sup>104</sup> Of the proceedings of 1837, one thousand copies were ordered printed,<sup>105</sup> presumably only in English. The will of a certain Schollenberger, March 31, 1837, was the last to be offered for recording in the German language in Rowan. Since no mention of the language is made, the sermons delivered on Synodical Sunday at St. Paul's in Alamance County in 1839 undoubtedly were English, although a German service was held during the week.<sup>106</sup> Perhaps the last German services during a synodical convention in North Carolina were held in Beck's Church in Davidson County in 1849.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>98</sup> *Minutes*, 1829, 1830.

<sup>99</sup> Original Credentials. In Archives of the United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina. Lenoir-Rhyne College.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. MS. Constitution. Missionary Society of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the State of North Carolina, *loc. cit.*

<sup>101</sup> MS. Minutes of the Missionary Society of the Evangelical, etc., 1831, *loc. cit.*

<sup>102</sup> Diary, Samuel Rothrock. No date. [1834], *loc. cit.*

<sup>103</sup> MS. President's Report to the North Carolina Synod, 1834, *loc. cit.*

<sup>104</sup> *Minutes*, 1837.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 1839.

<sup>107</sup> *Minutes of the Tennessee Synod*, 1849. One of the two German sermons was delivered by Rev. T. Moser, Flint Rock, N. C.

It seems that by 1836 some had forgotten that they were of German, rather than Dutch, ancestry. When Martin Van Buren became the presidential candidate, the *Western Carolinian* informed its German readers that Van Buren was "no Dutchman," such as they were, but that he was "more French than Dutch."<sup>108</sup> With a better knowledge of the terms *Dutch* and *German*, the Whiggish *Carolina Watchman* later declared, "He is not of German descent at all but a Hollander."<sup>109</sup>

By 1838 it was difficult to find buyers, even among the clergy, for German theological books. Considerably more than a hundred volumes, including a few English books, from the library of the deceased Storch were ordered to be sold, since "they would serve a good purpose if they were sold before they decay and the German language with them."<sup>110</sup> Twice they were offered at auction, but each time with so little success that a total of only \$10.45 was obtained. Even after the late pastor's son, the Rev. Theophilus Stork [sic], had made a selection, between twenty and thirty volumes remained unsold.<sup>111</sup> In 1841 the Synod was unable to send a missionary, who could officiate also in the German language, to Blakely County, Indiana.<sup>112</sup> In 1843 the president declared that if the German language should continue its rapid decline, the records of the first twenty-six years of the Synod would soon be useless. "There are but few of us who are familiar with the German language. If they die, it will be no small matter to obtain the services of one competent to translate the proceedings."<sup>113</sup>

Thus, about one hundred years after the pioneer Pennsylvania-Germans had come to North Carolina, the German language had almost entirely disappeared. In 1848 the Synod regarded the members of the newly-founded "German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri" as "German brethren [who] have not become fully Americanized."<sup>114</sup> In the homes English religious books

<sup>108</sup> Quoted in the *Carolina Watchman*, November 15, 1839.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Minutes*, North Carolina Synod, 1838.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 1839.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 1841.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 1843.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 1848.

had supplanted German authors.<sup>115</sup> In 1859 Victor Barringer of Cabarrus County wrote:

I labor under the disadvantage of not understanding the German language. . . . I know enough of it to exchange a few ordinary words in conversation, but not enough to decipher and translate old documents.<sup>116</sup>

In April of this same year, St. Paul's Lutheran Church of Wilmington, North Carolina, composed of recent German immigrants, declared its inability to send a delegate to the Synod, because few communicants "have a sufficient knowledge of English to take part in your deliberations."<sup>117</sup>

Jane Lindsay, who lives near Rockwell, stated to the writer that her old master, George Barnhardt, during the Civil War spoke German to his family. Although he spoke only English to his slaves, she succeeded in learning to understand German. In 1881 "Pennsylvania-Dutch" had almost ceased to be heard on the streets of Salisbury, though the accent and the idiom still lingered on many tongues.<sup>118</sup> After stating in 1881 that the settlements on the Yadkin had remained German, the editor of the *Deutsche Pionier*<sup>119</sup> in 1883 wrote that the people gradually had forgotten the German language. "Only the German names and a number of customs, received from the ancestors, remind one of their German descent."<sup>120</sup> About ten or twelve very old members of St. John's in Cabarrus County were able to speak German in 1899, and perhaps as many more could understand German.<sup>121</sup>

The people, as a whole, however, have become so thoroughly Americanized in their speech that for more than fifty years they have been unable to read the inscriptions on the tombstones of their ancestors. While today a student of the English language would probably not detect the faintest brogue in the speech of even the oldest Germans, he may occasionally hear an expression which betrays its German origin. But many long years

<sup>115</sup> Fesperman, Reverend J. H., *The Life of a Sufferer. An Autobiography* (Utica, N. Y., 1892), 18 *et seq.*

<sup>116</sup> Victor Barringer to D. L. Swain. North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>117</sup> Secretary of St. Paul's to North Carolina Synod. In Archives of the United Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North Carolina. Lenoir-Rhyne College.

<sup>118</sup> Rumble, *History of Rowan County*, 46.

<sup>119</sup> Vol. XIII (1881), 312.

<sup>120</sup> Vol. XV (1883), 253.

<sup>121</sup> Steffey, Sidney D., *A Brief History of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Cabarrus County, North Carolina* (Concord, North Carolina, 1899), 29.

elapsed before the Scotch and the English fully realized that the Germans were actually able to speak English. One said of Simeon J. M. Brown, who late in life began his preparation for the ministry: "Though I have examined dozens of candidates for the ministry, he passed the best examination on the English Bible I have ever witnessed."<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Owens, Reverend Robert B., *Christ Church, Rowan County* (Charlotte, North Carolina, 1921), 20.

# JOHN C. CALHOUN AND THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1824

By THOMAS ROBSON HAY

The presidential campaign of 1824 is significant because it marked the end of an era. The older leaders, who had served in the Revolution and who had had a part in the setting up of the new country, were passing or had gone into retirement. A younger generation was coming to power. Conditions and necessities generated by conflict with England had been met successfully, in one way or another. The rise of the new West was developing new social and economic forces and new divisions of opinion. These changes created tendencies to parochial sectionalism which were crystallizing political thought and action on the subject of slavery and in relation to the basic domestic and industrial economy, respectively, of the East, the South, and the West.

Four years previous, in 1820, President James Monroe, though "by no means popular," had been reëlected. He was unopposed because "no one man [stood] so much above [any other] as to be able to unite the public will in his favor."<sup>1</sup> At this time, John Quincy Adams, Crawford, Clinton, Clay, and Rufus King were the men who might hope to oppose Monroe, but none of them was willing to risk his reputation in what would probably have been a hopeless opposition. It was expected that all but the last would seek the presidential office at the next election in 1824.

Of those named, Crawford, a Virginian born, though domiciled in Georgia, was generally considered the "heir apparent." In 1816, at the time of Monroe's first election, Crawford had nearly been the successful candidate. Only the intercession of Madison and Jefferson in his favor had assured the election of Monroe. John Quincy Adams was another strong contender, but his frigid disposition and calculating manner seemed to bar him from favorable consideration. Clinton, though able and popular, lacked the support of the Albany Regency which controlled

<sup>1</sup> Brown, E. S., (ed.) *The Missouri Compromise and Presidential Politics, 1820-1825*, from the Letters of William Plumer, Jr. William Plumer, Jr., to William Plumer, April 10, 1820. In *Publications of the Missouri Historical Society*, p. 49. (Henceforth cited as *Plumer*.)

the nominating caucus in New York. Clay also was popular and nationally known, but volatile and uncertain. Rufus King was soon to seek an earned retirement.

Hardly had Monroe been inaugurated for his second term than the contest for the succession in 1825 began. Crawford again was at first the most promising aspirant and seemed to have the best chance for election. However, Adams strenuously contested Crawford's apparent preference. Henry Clay, likewise, aspired to the succession. A fourth aspirant, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, the Secretary of War in Monroe's cabinet, actively entered the contest. He was followed a year later by Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, the hero of New Orleans, whose fame had been kept fresh by subsequent achievements in Florida and in the Indian country. Clinton early sought the nomination, but events in New York state politics as well as a lack of aggressive support outside of New York soon eliminated his name from consideration. All the candidates, except Crawford, depended for success on a preference by the electorate; Crawford, on his part, preferred to seek his support from the politicians, acting through the various congressional and state nominating caucuses. Heretofore, the caucuses had presented their presidential preference to the people and had supported their choice successfully by all the devices, devious and otherwise, known to practical politicians.

As a result of this political activity, even by 1820, "at the very apex of the Era of Good Feeling, there existed factional feuds between the friends of the leading rival candidates. Each was declared to be a genuine Republican with the interest of the whole country in view. But there was a wide difference of opinion as to what constituted genuine Republicanism; and each candidate, though conciliatory in attitude, was regarded as the champion of a particular section, group, or policy."<sup>2</sup>

Probably in no presidential campaign before or since have so many prominent and nationally known candidates been active aspirants for the presidential office. Three of them, Crawford, Adams, and Calhoun, were Cabinet members; Clay was Speaker of the House of Representatives; the fifth and last entrant, Andrew Jackson, was the most distinguished and popular military

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<sup>2</sup> Newsome, A. R., "The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina," p. 59. In *Manuscript*. (Henceforth cited as *Newsome*.)

figure in the country. The campaign, while of necessity one of brilliant and distinguished personalities, signalized also important changes in the American political system. No principles of national importance were involved. The controversy over slavery that was eventually to convulse the country in a flood of blood had hardly begun to be manifest; and the system of the tariff and internal improvements and of the banks had not reached the stage of acute controversy. The question of federal control and state rights only occasionally provoked controversy. But the "old party lines were dissolving and new parties were crystallizing, the system of party management was undergoing a transformation, and a movement toward a more complete democracy was beginning."<sup>3</sup> There was a growing hostility in national politics to party dictation by Washington politicians and a desire for more popular and democratic control of the presidential nominating conventions. These desires eventually wrested party control from the politicians and lodged it in the electorate acting through the popular nominating conventions, thus bringing about fundamental changes in American political procedure. The changes help to explain the Democratic tidal wave that in 1828 swept Jackson into office and that have since characterized other presidential campaigns.

It was in such a political situation and against distinguished and able opponents that Calhoun made his first attempt to secure the coveted office of President of the United States. He was young, not forty, when he began his second term as Secretary of War in Monroe's Cabinet. His record was a brilliant one of leadership, of action, and of achievement. As he became steadily more prominent he came to be numbered among those who might be considered as Monroe's successor. The numbers of those struggling to pull him down rapidly increased, with Crawford as the focus of the hopes of the party or faction known as the Radicals and as the one who seemed to have the best chance of achieving the succession. Calhoun's record and charming personality were his best assets. He made warm and sincere friends of all with whom he came in contact. His record on the

<sup>3</sup> Ramelkamp, C. H., "The Campaign of 1824 in New York," in *Report, American Historical Association*, 1904, p. 177.

tariff and internal improvements appealed both to the industrial manufacturing states and to the voters in the expanding West. His hopes rested mainly on his popularity in Pennsylvania and South Carolina, the grateful affection of the army, and the admiration of the young men throughout the country.

Calhoun's youth, which seemed to cause a light of uncommon lustre to shine on him, was at once an asset and a handicap. With his elders his youth coupled with an attributed "want of judgment and moderation" were the principal objections. Justice Joseph Story wrote: "I have great admiration for Mr. Calhoun. . . . But his age, or rather his youth . . . is a formidable objection. . . ." One observer found his ". . . manner . . . endearing as well as captivating . . ."; another spoke of Calhoun ". . . whose conversational powers charmed all who heard him. . . ." A Senator wrote that ". . . Calhoun . . . is formidably opposed on the ground of his youth, his inexperience, his heterodoxy, and his ambition. . . ." One of Calhoun's colleagues in Monroe's Cabinet wrote: ". . . [Calhoun] is a most captivating character . . . [who] wants only what age will give him to assure to him, I think, the universal confidence of the nation. . . ." Calhoun, himself, was aware of the objection to his youth. He wrote a kinsman: ". . . as there is no . . . objection to me but age . . . my chance will finally be the best. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

In December, 1821, an acute observer reported that ". . . The question as to the next President seems to be agitated in various newspapers and in different parts of the country with much zeal. . . ."<sup>5</sup> The nomination of William Lowndes of South Carolina by a caucus of the South Carolina legislature on December 18, 1821, was the opening move for an election that would not take place until three years later. This action immediately brought all of the candidates into the open. Calhoun

<sup>4</sup> Plumer, Jr., to Plumer, Jan. 27, 1821, in *Plumer*, p. 65; von Holst, H., *John C. Calhoun*, p. 59; Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story*, I, 426, Story to Bacon, Sept. 21, 1823; Mrs. W. W. Seaton to her mother, March, 1818, Seaton, Josephine, *William W. Seaton—A Biographical Sketch*, p. 135; Trimble, John Allen, "Memoirs of an Old Politician in the National Capital," *Journal of American History*, III, 614; Elijah H. Mills to his wife, n. d. (1823?), *Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2d Series, XIX, pp. 37-38; Kennedy, J. P., *Memoirs of William Wirt*, II, 185, William Wirt to William Pope, Nov. 12, 1823; John C. Calhoun to J. E. Calhoun, April 14, 1823, in Jameson, J. F., (ed.) "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun," *Report American Historical Association*, 1899, II, 206. (Henceforth cited as *Calhoun's Correspondence*.)

<sup>5</sup> Plumer, Jr., to Plumer, April 10, 1820, and December 30, 1821, in *Plumer*, pp. 48, 69.

was "waited on by certain Members of Congress from Pennsylvania and New York [and South Carolina] and requested to be considered as a candidate for the Presidency—to which, it is said, he consented."<sup>6</sup> This early action by some of Calhoun's supporters was deprecated by many of his friends as "premature." It was thought "indelicate [of him] to make the first movement."<sup>7</sup> Calhoun had, in fact, been before the country for several months, as some of his friends in Pennsylvania, led by George M. Dallas, had nominated him. But, because of the partisan character of the meeting, the act was considered more as a gesture of confidence and support than as an official nomination.

The situation as it appeared in December, 1821, to a New York observer in Washington, was set forth in a long letter to a member of the New York Assembly in Albany, in which the writer remarked: ". . . The Presidential question altho' nothing appears on the surface is troubling the waters below and causing many undercurrents to set in different directions. Few people speak out and even these few seldom speak directly to the point. More persons predict who will not be the next president than attempt to hazard a conjecture as to who will—Mr. Adams' friends, I believe, have pretty much given him up as a hopeless concern and there does not at present appear to be a much fairer prospect of the success of the Georgia candidate [Crawford]. . . . [However] he is the man of the radicals of the South and West and . . . we are well satisfied here . . . the current begins to set pretty strongly [in Calhoun's favour] particularly from Pennsylvania and the West . . . Mr. Calhoun's family were originally from Pennsylvania and he was educated in Connecticut and it is supposed his feelings are Northerly which may give him some advantage in that part of the Union but which will probably operate against him in the South. . . ." The same observer wrote a month later: ". . . The State of New York must be felt in the next Presidential election. . . . It

<sup>6</sup> *National Intelligencer*, January 10, 11, 16, and 19, 1822; Meigs, W. M., *Life of John C. Calhoun*, I, 290-291 (henceforth cited as Meigs); Plumer, Jr., to Plumer, January 3, 1822, *Plumer*, p. 74; Rufus King to Charles King, January 1, 4, 1822, *Works of Rufus King*, VI, 434-435; Ravenel, St. Julien, *Life & Times of William Lowndes*, pp. 222, 225; Bassett, J. S., *Life of Andrew Jackson*, p. 331.

<sup>7</sup> *National Intelligencer*, January 19, 22, 1822.

is probably the best policy for her for the present to stand aloof from the contest. . . . I hope our friends at home will support us in this policy by which the State will be placed on higher ground than she has been for many years. . . . The moment [we are committed] we lose a share of our influence in the national councils. The moment a man is married or known to be engaged the ladies cease to admire him and set their caps for another. . . ."<sup>8</sup>

At this time, the *Southern Patriot* remarked ". . . with much quaintness, and with a good deal of truth, as regards the character, if not the benefit, of the discussion—that, among the advantages to be derived from the present early investigation of the merits of the candidates for the Presidency, is that 'they are mutually and thoroughly reviled'; so that this *necessary* part of the process in making a President will be over [perhaps] before the time of election arrives."<sup>9</sup> The predictions contained in this observation were realized to the full in the course of the campaign, but the reviling continued into the next administration. From a feeling of trust and confidence, Adams, among others, had come to be suspicious of Calhoun's every move and was "bitterly jealous of his new rival." By the end of the campaign ". . . He spoke of Calhoun as having acted a very selfish part. . . ."<sup>10</sup> DeWitt Clinton, who soon dropped out of the race, was likewise bitter towards Calhoun, as he was towards all of his competitors. He wrote that Calhoun had ". . . outraged public sentiment by [his] obstinate claims. . . ." Later, after Calhoun had withdrawn, Clinton wrote ". . . Calhoun is acting a treacherous part . . ." and that his policy was "base and dishonest. . . ."<sup>11</sup> Calhoun went serenely on

<sup>8</sup> R. H. Walworth, from Washington, to Azariah C. Flagg, Member of New York Assembly at Albany, December 28, 1821, and January 27, 1822, in Flagg Papers, New York Public Library.

<sup>9</sup> *Southern Patriot*, quoted in *National Intelligencer*, November 13, 1822.

<sup>10</sup> Plumer, Jr., to Plumer, December 9, 1824, *Plumer*, p. 121; Meigs, I, p. 291.

<sup>11</sup> John Bigelow, "DeWitt Clinton as a Politician," *Harpers Magazine*, L, pp. 417, 569, quoting Clinton to Post, April 5, 1822, and July 23, 1824. From Washington, Stephen Van Rensselaer wrote Clinton, April 27, 1822: ". . . Intrigue is the order of the day here. Crawford is the favorite at present. Calhoun's friends have evinced too much zeal which has excited suspicion. I am afraid by letter to give you particulars. . . ." DeWitt Clinton Papers, X, 42, (Columbia University); a year later, Clinton wrote General James Wilkinson, then in the City of Mexico: ". . . There are several avowed candidates for the Presidential Chair and some of them are moving heaven and earth to effect their objects. . . ." Clinton to Wilkinson, July 29, 1823, *ibid.*, XX, 346. Clinton's actions puzzled some not in close touch with the political situation in New York. Maxey wrote Wheaton in Albany, Dec. 21, 1823: ". . . What is the meaning of DeWitt Clinton's movements? Is he to play marplot? Tell Haynes we hold him responsible for Mr. Clinton's good conduct." He continued: ". . . Many of those [in Maryland] who now count for Adams

his way, hoping against hope that he could generate sufficient sustained popular and political interest in his candidacy to enable him to remain in the race with some chance of success. After the first burst of activity in the winter of 1821-22, things quieted down, most of the maneuvering going on under cover. Calhoun wrote his kinsman in South Carolina: ". . . The Presidential election continues to be much spoken of, but does not yet produce much political excitement. My friends think my political prospect good, in fact better than any other who is spoken of. . . ." <sup>12</sup>

Throughout the year 1822 each candidate made his preparations for presenting his qualifications to the electorate. It was in the summer of this year that Calhoun received a somewhat unexpected accession of strength and support in the person of no less a notable than General Winfield Scott. Consulting his own interests and unblushingly flattered by the wily Calhoun, Scott early came to the belief that the man for him to back was his chief in the War Department. Their relations had been cordial and friendly and on more than one occasion they had supported each other in combating the intrigues of the Radicals acting under Crawford's leadership. Scott thought first to resign from the army and offer himself as a candidate for Congress from his native State, Virginia. Only the fact that he would be in competition with one of his best and most loyal friends caused him to reconsider the plan. <sup>13</sup> In the fall of the year he considered offering himself as a candidate for the office of governor of Virginia, but the strength of the opposition candidate again caused him to reconsider. <sup>14</sup> Scott was prompted in both of these moves by a desire to get himself into a position where he might be able to be of direct assistance to Calhoun in his campaign to attain the Presidency. It was not until several years later that Scott learned of Calhoun's "heartlessness" and willing-

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only want to be convinced that Calhoun is strong elsewhere to declare for him. Give me all the information you can. How do you come on? New York is the pivot and we have now since the death of Crawford few fears of Clay." Swift Papers in U. S. M. A. Library at West Point, N. Y. (Henceforth cited as Swift Papers.) The presence of this letter in the Swift Papers indicates that Wheaton forwarded it to Swift for his information.

<sup>12</sup> John C. Calhoun to J. E. Calhoun, March 19, 1822, Calhoun's *Correspondence*, II, p. 202.

<sup>13</sup> Adams, John Quincy, *Memoirs*, VI, pp. 7, 21, entries June 2, 16, 1822.

<sup>14</sup> Scott to ?, October 30, 1822, American Art Association, Lot No. 62, Sale No. 3913, on May 16, 1931.

ness to make such use as he could of his sincere friendship and support.<sup>15</sup>

Calhoun likewise seems to have been preferred by Monroe as his successor. One of Calhoun's most active correspondents and supporters was none other than Monroe's son-in-law and private secretary, Samuel L. Gouverneur. While in New York City, when Congress was not in session, Gouverneur corresponded frequently with Calhoun concerning his prospects with the politicians at Albany and with the people of the State.<sup>16</sup> He kept Calhoun informed as to what was going on in New York; he advised with C. K. Gardner, the editor of *The* (New York) *Patriot*, which was supporting Calhoun; he advised with General Scott in reference to Scott's attacks on Crawford by means of anonymous contributions to the *Richmond Enquirer* under the signatures of "Pendleton" and "Whythe." Scott wrote Gouverneur: ". . . Mr C<sup>n</sup> is confident of success, &, I think, on safe grounds. Every day brings to him some powerful new support. . . ." And again: ". . . Mr C<sup>n</sup> is sanguine & I think his chances of success good. . . ." <sup>17</sup> Both Scott and Gouverneur with other friends contributed financially to the furtherance of Calhoun's cause. Calhoun also received the energetic support of the Commanding General of the Army, General Jacob Brown, whose correspondence was carried on through his aide, John A. Dix.<sup>18</sup>

In the summer of 1822, in order to offset the constant attacks on him by Crawford's newspaper, the *Washington City Gazette*, Calhoun and his friends started the *Washington Republican*, an evening newspaper. Thomas L. McKenney, who had only recently resigned as Superintendent of Indian Trade, when the

<sup>15</sup> Winfield Scott to J. G. Swift, October 24, 1825, Swift Papers; Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, p. 548, entry May 14, 1825.

<sup>16</sup> Letters from April 9, 1823, to November 9, 1823, in "Calhoun-Gouverneur Correspondence, 1823-1836," in *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, III, pp. 324-327. "Virginius" writing to President Monroe, commented with respect to Monroe's advisers: ". . . Public Rumor is even bold enough to say that [Calhoun] is not only your principal adviser, but almost your absolute director. . . . [His] political principles are more ultra than those of Alexander Hamilton himself . . . [but his] brilliant genius is unaccompanied by profound judgment. . . ." Quoted in *Richmond Enquirer*, May 14, 1824.

<sup>17</sup> Winfield Scott to Samuel L. Gouverneur, April 8, 21, 1823, in Gouverneur Papers, New York Public Library; *Richmond Enquirer*, April 18, 25, 29, May 5, 13, 20, 23, 30, 1823.

<sup>18</sup> John A. Dix to John W. Taylor, July 25, 1823, and October 9, 1824, in John W. Taylor Papers, New York Historical Society.

Factory System was abolished,<sup>19</sup> and who was an admiring friend of Calhoun, was selected as the editor.<sup>20</sup> The first number appeared on August 7, 1822. Calhoun was active in securing support for the paper and in its editorial conduct. It was soon able to neutralize and meet the bitter personal attacks on Calhoun constantly being made by Crawford's organ.<sup>21</sup> Within six weeks after its first issue Adams wrote: ". . . The Washington *Republican* and *City Gazette*—War and Treasury Departments—are yet in deadly conflict, but with such unequal force, all reason, argument and demonstration on one side, and all scurrility and billingsgate on the other, that the *National Intelligencer* has been compelled to step in to the relief of the Treasury<sup>22</sup>—the editors, by some shuffling and equivocating paragraphs professing the intention not to meddle with the controversy; and now by a formal communication . . . from the Treasury . . . [attempt] at answering argumentatively the *Washington Republican* . . . Noah, the editor of the New York *National Advocate*, has discovered that some of McKenney's printed proposals for publishing his paper were transmitted, franked by the Paymaster and Adjutant General, and charges this as a violation of the franking privilege and a fraud upon the postoffice. McKenney [admitted the charge and answered it] . . . The *City Gazette* makes a great outcry about the incident, which is of more importance as it shows the intimacy between the War office and the *Washington Republican*, than in any other light . . ." <sup>23</sup> McKenney continued as

<sup>19</sup> Sketch of Thomas L. McKenney, *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, pp. 89-90; Way, R. B., "The United States Factory System for trading with the Indians, 1796-1822," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VI, p. 234; Bill Abolishing the Factory System, passed Senate, May 2, 1822, and passed House of Representatives and approved May 6, 1822, *Annals of Congress*, 17th Congress, 1st Session; James, J. A., "Indian Trading House or Factory System," *Magazine of Western History*, VII, pp. 32-37; *American State Papers*, Indian Affairs, II, pp. 417-428, 513 f.

<sup>20</sup> "Prospectus of the *Washington Republican & Congressional Examiner*," dated June 12, 1822, in *National Intelligencer*, June 20, 1822; Meigs, I, pp. 276, 294, 297; Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, pp. 60, 63, entries, Sept. 9, 14, 1822.

<sup>21</sup> Mrs. S. H. Smith to Mrs. Kirkpatrick, Oct. 12, 1822, in Gaillard Hunt, *The First Forty Years of Washington Society*, p. 160; Calhoun frequently furnished McKenney with "reflections" which he was expected to bring out in his own words, John C. Calhoun to Virgil Maxcy, Aug. 2, 1822, Maxcy-Markoe Papers in the Library of Congress, quoted in Meigs, *Calhoun*, I, p. 294; Jackson wrote Calhoun that the object of the *Washington Gazette* was ". . . to effect you, and draw the attention of the nation from his [Crawford's] corruption and intrigue, his friends well know they can neither justify or defend him, and it is plain that this is their course from the game that is played by the red jackets through the *City Gazette*. . ." Jackson to Calhoun, June 28, 1822, Bassett, J. S., (ed.) *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, III, pp. 164-165.

<sup>22</sup> The *National Intelligencer* was accused of supporting Crawford because of the large volume of business it enjoyed as "public printer." *Washington Republican*, Jan. 24, 1824; Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, p. 60.

<sup>23</sup> Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, p. 66.

editor until June, 1823. The paper continued to support Calhoun, though less effectively, until July, 1824, when it was sold to and merged with Peter Force's *National Journal*, which was supporting Adams.<sup>24</sup>

The important states in the election campaign of 1824 were New York, controlled by Van Buren and the Albany Regency; Virginia, strongly disposed in favor of Crawford; Pennsylvania, which early in the campaign seemed to prefer Calhoun on account of his record on the tariff, the United States Bank, and internal improvements; North Carolina, which Calhoun thought would be "right for him";<sup>25</sup> and Ohio, which had declared itself for Clay and in which Clinton had some following. The electoral votes of these five states made up nearly fifty per cent of the total.

<sup>24</sup> "Mr. Thomas L. McKenney has withdrawn from the proprietorship of the *Washington Republican* having transferred all his right and interest in that establishment to Messrs. Richard Haughton & Co.," *National Intelligencer*, June 4, 1823; McKenney was appointed Supt. of Indian Affairs March 11, 1824. T. L. McKenney, *Memoirs, Official & Personal*, I, p. 251. Cf. Notice of Sale of the *Washington Republican*, July 10, 1824, published in *National Journal* in Monroe Papers in New York Public Library. After McKenney's retirement from the *Washington Republican* it was "edited by an Englishman not yet naturalized" until the paper was sold to the *National Journal*. Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, p. 91. "Catallus," writing from Washington, July 26, 1824, "... paint[s] a faithful, although an unpolished picture" of Washington. Commenting on the various newspapers in Washington and their attitudes towards the presidential candidates, he says of the *Washington Republican*: It is "... a paper which has labored in its vocation with great ardor and earnestness [which] ushered in its feverish existence, under the auspices of Thomas L. McKenney, as its avowed editor. He was first known among us as an humble shop-keeper in Georgetown; soon, however, from what cause I leave to conjecture, he was reduced to the necessity of becoming an ardent suitor for official patronage. By one of those fortuitous events which sometimes elevates the most undeserving he was made superintendent of Indian Trade, this was effected principally through the agency of a man who then had all the influence which the president of a discounting bank, with a large capital, might be supposed to possess. For this appointment he was neither indebted to his judgment nor his genius. Congress soon thought fit to abolish the office. ... In the meantime, however, our editor availed himself of his connection with a bank to obtain monied facilities, whereby he established an intimacy with John C. Calhoun. Taking advantage of this circumstance and the knowledge he had acquired of the ambition and credulity of the Secretary of War, he by pursuing the same policy, which he had practiced with so much success before, induced the Secretary to establish the *Washington Republican* and to afford it his private aid and the patronage of his department. With a hired scribbler for his coadjutor, an Englishman named Agg, who before scarcely ever aspired beyond the fame of scribbling verses for a periodical newspaper in New York, they commenced their work of abuse of all the true and well tried Republicans of the country, denouncing them by the odious epithet of *radicals, traitors and slaves* ... Deprived of [the] support, for which they were indebted to the vain hopes and ambitious views of Mr. Calhoun and his friends, they were no longer able to relieve that languor which their excess of abuse had produced ... they saw their friends hourly drop away and they wondered to find themselves abandoned. In this dilemma they sold out to Peter Force, the tool of Mr. John Quincy Adams. ... McKenney is now an humble clerk in the War Department, while Agg wanders about the miserable victim of vice and folly. ... Of the *National Journal* (in which is merged the *Washington Republican*) and its nominal editor, Peter Force, I blush to speak; not would I disgrace your paper with a subject so unworthy of it, did they not derive some claim to notice from their connections with the Secretary of State. ... Let us turn now from such subjects, to that which a virtuous mind may contemplate with pleasure and delight. ..." "Catallus" goes on to praise the *National Intelligencer*, as a supporter of Crawford, and the *Washington Gazette* as "an old and respectable paper, conducted with great talent, bold, fearless, and independent in its tone. ... [which] came out boldly in defence of Mr. Crawford. ..." *Richmond Enquirer*, July 30, 1824. On Nov. 25, 1823, the *Richmond Enquirer* noticed the "*National Journal* lately established in the interests of Mr. Adams."

<sup>25</sup> Calhoun to Swift, Sept. 8, 1823, Swift Papers.

In New York, Calhoun with the assistance of General Joseph G. Swift, recently resigned as Chief of Engineers of the United States Army and now Register of the Port of New York, General Winfield Scott, Samuel L. Gouverneur, President Monroe's son-in-law and secretary, Henry Wheaton, and other prominent men, started a newspaper which they called *The Patriot*.<sup>26</sup> Calhoun and his supporters proposed, in this manner, to concentrate their efforts in their campaign to defeat the Crawford ". . . scheme of usurping the Constitutional Rights of the People in the choice of Electors by means of [the] Caucus. . . . The Van Buren men are all in dismay . . ." Wheaton wrote Gouverneur: ". . . We *whack* them on the floor and they are obliged to caucus *all* night to make up for what they lose in the day time. It is truly a contest with 'the Powers of Darkness.' Hardly a man can be found who will avow himself in favor of Crawford. . . ." <sup>27</sup>

General Swift was very active in the conduct of *The Patriot*, consulting frequently with Calhoun and with the editor. He went to Washington early in July, 1823, "to confer with Mr. Calhoun and Virgil Maxey, Esq. [and] . . . it was agreed that [Swift] should collect materials and publish a pamphlet to promote the election of Calhoun. . . ." Swift was also commissioned "to correspond" with prominent men throughout the

<sup>26</sup> Several years earlier, Swift, it appears, had thought well of Crawford as a presidential candidate. Crawford had served as Secretary of War for a year or more previous to Calhoun's appointment to that office in October, 1817. In the summer of 1819, General Andrew Jackson learned from his aide, James Gadsden, that Crawford was intriguing "against Mr. Monroe's re-election." It was reported that General Swift, who was Gadsden's informant, "had been very intimate" with Crawford and that they were "often together and on the most friendly footing . . ." Jackson reported Swift's information to President Monroe, who cautioned him not to rely "too much on Swift, who in a pinch might 'trip.'" Hearing his name had been used, Swift called on Jackson to explain Crawford's reported intrigue. The bluff soldier, however, did not give full credence to Swift's explanation and "told him that [he] knew Crawford to be a villain and that [he] had made it a rule never to take a rascal by the hand, knowing him [Crawford] to be such . . ." This experience, supported by Calhoun's blandishments and flattery, prompted Swift to drop further thought of Crawford and to devote himself wholly to Calhoun's interests. Jackson to Gadsden, August 1, 1819, in Bassett, J. S., (ed.) *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, II, pp. 421-422; Bassett, J. S., *Life of Andrew Jackson*, p. 290. Calhoun wrote: ". . . the Patriot is established by men who are recognized to be sound Republicans, and of great influence in the City [of New York]. I have read the prospectus. It is excellent in manner and matter. . . ." And again: ". . . The Patriot gives an organ, through which, I trust, the intelligent and virtuous will speak to the State and Nation. . . ." Calhoun to Swift, April 29, 1823, and May 10, 1823, Swift Papers; Winfield Scott to S. L. Gouverneur, April 8, 21, 1823, Gouverneur Papers.

<sup>27</sup> Henry Wheaton to S. L. Gouverneur, February 3, 1824, *ibid*.

country.<sup>28</sup> Because Calhoun's candidacy lacked any widespread and effective support, either from the politicians or the mass of the voters, an effort to create the necessary backing was made by setting up supporting newspapers and a widespread correspondence sent to the newspapers and to prominent men in business and political life. This was carried to such an extent that Ritchie, in the *Richmond Enquirer*, commented editorially: ". . . [Though] Mr Calhoun [is] a man of fine genius, of much promise, and of great address . . . a regular system of puffing has been introduced [to support his candidacy]. Quack medicines and lottery offices have not been more active. His praise has been elaborately spread over the country in the pages of pamphlets. Letters seem to be continually written for publication to swell his pretensions and his chances. They write from New York that she has turned in his favor. They write from Washington that Mr. Crawford is lost because Mr. Clay is made the Speaker. They write from Raleigh [N. C.] that Mr. Calhoun carries the day because the Speaker of the House of Representatives [of North Carolina] is his advocate. . . . This species of tactics cannot possibly succeed. The enthusiasm of [U. S. Army] officers; the zeal of personal friends; panegyrics in the newspapers and the puffs of letter writers, cannot prevail upon the people to prefer Mr. Calhoun. If he has the

<sup>28</sup> Swift, J. G., *Memoirs*, p. 192; Swift's pamphlet was captioned "Principles, Not Men" and was distributed just before the fall state elections of 1823. Calhoun to Swift, Nov. 9, 1823, Swift Papers. Calhoun wrote: ". . . Our position is admirable if we know how to profit of it. Your correspondence ought to be active now. Make known your victory by it. I think the pamphlet ought to be out by the meeting of the [New York] legislature at the farthest. . . ." Calhoun wrote Dix: ". . . The cause begins to be supported as it ought to be in your city [New York] . . . [Continuation of this condition] can best be effected by correspondence. . ." Calhoun to Dix, Sept. 28, 1823, quoted in Dix, John A., *Memoirs*, I, p. 66. Another pamphlet addressed to the ". . . Citizens of North Carolina" in November, 1823, supported Calhoun. It was written, either by Swift or McDuffie. Cf. pamphlet in New York Public Library. At the time of Swift's meeting with Calhoun in Washington in July, 1823, Swift ". . . arranged to correspond. . ." with important politicians in New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Virginia, etc. Swift, *Memoirs*, p. 192. During 1822 and 1823 Calhoun corresponded frequently with Ninian Edwards on the establishment of the *Washington Republican*, the general political situation and on the subject of the Mexican mission, to which Edwards was appointed, but from which he was recalled on account of the "A B" letters relating to Crawford's conduct in the Treasury Department. Edwards, N. W., *History of Illinois . . . and Life & Times of Ninian Edwards*, pp. 131, 135, 488-495. In response to Calhoun's suggestion to Swift to ". . . put the pen of some of your Virginia friends in motion in the (Richmond) *Enquirer* in my favor . . ." [Calhoun to Swift, Aug. 24, 1823, Swift Papers.] a number of articles under the signatures "Thomson," "Roanoke," as well as those of General Scott, signed "Whythe," were collected and issued as a pamphlet captioned "Presidential Elections." In New York Public Library. "Thomson" on Dec. 2, 1823, concludes his advocacy of Calhoun's candidacy: ". . . John C. Calhoun [is] at this day, the most worthy successor to the last President [James Monroe] of the revolutionary school . . ." The *New York Patriot* of Oct. 8, 1823, quotes a toast given at a public dinner, as follows: "John C. Calhoun—a political Hercules—may the maturity of his strength be displayed in high office. W. H. Crawford—the national psalm singer—bearing a base part in political intrigue—tenor to congressional caucuses, counter to true Republican principles, and treble in the suppression of public documents."

best qualifications for the office, these extraordinary exertions will be unnecessary; if he has not, they will prove inefficient. . . ."<sup>29</sup>

Colonel C. K. Gardner, a veteran of the War of 1812 and a former auditor in the Treasury Department, was chosen editor of *The Patriot* and had associated with him Selleck Osborn, a former Delaware newspaper editor who had espoused Calhoun's cause. *The Patriot* commenced publication May 29, 1823, about the same time that McKenney relinquished his effective editorship of the *Washington Republican*.<sup>30</sup> Gardner and Osborn, however, did not aid Calhoun much in his contest in New York against Van Buren, who was supported by Noah and the *National Advocate*. *The Patriot* progressively became less effective, and the month before the election Gardner returned to his law practice and finally reentered the Federal service as auditor in the Post Office Department. Though Calhoun continued his publicity campaign well into 1824 to secure effective support for his candidacy, he received little encouragement from the New York electorate. The voters preferred Adams or Jackson, while the politicians did what they could to secure a preference for Crawford.

When candidates first began to be considered in the winter following Monroe's reelection, the *Cincinnati Gazette*, edited by Charles Hammond, came out in favor of Calhoun for President. In spite of the aggressive support and active partisanship of the *Gazette* and John McLean, who was appointed Postmaster General in June, 1823, and who was "said to be a mere tool of Calhoun's," not much interest could be generated in Ohio. Clay's strength there, with a second choice in Clinton, soon made it evident that Calhoun's chances were hardly worth an effort to secure either preference or a favorable sentiment. Though Calhoun's "conversational powers charmed all who heard him," and

<sup>29</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, Dec. 11, 1823.

<sup>30</sup> Sketches of C. K. Gardner and Selleck Osborn, *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, p. 141, and XIV, pp. 69-70; Osborn had relinquished the editorship of the *Delaware Watchman* at the beginning of 1822. *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 15, 1822. Senator Elliott of Georgia wrote that Calhoun had "... seduced from his engagements to advocate Mr. Crawford, the editor of *The Patriot* ... But this shameful defection ... has already deprived [Gardner] of the principal Republicans of the City of New York and will very shortly consign the paper to deserved insignificance ...". Elliott to Blackshear, Sept. 4, 1822, quoted in Shipp, J. E. D., *Giant Days or the Life & Times of William H. Crawford*, p. 149. Gardner had been an employee in the Treasury Department several years prior to assuming the editorship of *The Patriot*.

though McLean, supported by the *Gazette*, did everything possible, it was all to no avail. The Ohio field was soon abandoned to Clay.<sup>31</sup>

In Virginia, Calhoun's chances, from the beginning, were nearly hopeless, though he struggled hard to establish an effective sentiment in his favor. Crawford, supported by Thomas Ritchie and the *Richmond Enquirer*, controlled the caucus and was nominated without difficulty. Calhoun's friends, including Scott, made a brave effort to discredit Crawford, but without any success. Here too, Calhoun sponsored a newspaper, *The Daily Virginia Times*; but it was short-lived. Publication commenced February 23, 1823, and ceased August 25, because the "editor and publisher . . . quarreled . . .," because of lack of funds, and because of the hopelessness of Calhoun's cause in Virginia. Calhoun saw the paper pass with regret, as he thought "It could be made a most profitable and useful establishment." Though willing "to stand or fall by my acts," Calhoun could find none "to do [him] justice" in Virginia.<sup>32</sup>

Calhoun's candidacy in Virginia was especially objectionable to the State Rights politicians. A letter to the *Richmond Enquirer* of February 12, 1824, gave a fair estimate of the popular conception then entertained in the east regarding Calhoun: ". . . He has no friends in Virginia [said the writer] who will rally to the hustings in any of her districts. His kindly manners and fine genius may attract a few stragglers here and there to his banners, but no considerate Virginian who values the constitution of his country will lend himself to the care of an ultra poli-

<sup>31</sup> Rosenbloom, H. E., "Ohio and the Presidential Election of 1824," *Publications Ohio Archaeological and Historical Association*, XXVI, p. 223 ff.; Van Buren to Rufus King, King Papers, New York Historical Society. Early in 1823 one of Calhoun's Ohio supporters wrote that he preferred Calhoun ". . . because he is a man of much finer talents . . ." than Clay. "His course has been uniform. No man has supported the policy of internal improvements and domestic manufactures with more zeal and ability than Calhoun. In his nature he is frank, independent and firm. Against his moral character the slightest reproach has never been uttered. Pennsylvania is for Calhoun and will support him with all her influence . . . If Calhoun is elected [President] Pa. will be to him what Virginia has been to all our Presidents except one." John McLean to G. P. Torrence, Feb. 12, 1823, *Publications Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society*, II, p. 7; cf. also Trimble, J. A., "Memoirs of an Old Politician in the National Capital," *Journal of American History*, III, p. 614, and John McLean to Allen Trimble, Jan. 13, 1823, *Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly*, X, p. 302.

<sup>32</sup> Calhoun to Swift, Aug. 24, 1823, Swift Papers; an advertisement in the *Richmond Enquirer* of Sept. 12, 1823 ". . . informs the Patrons of the 'Virginia Times' and the public generally that [the publisher and editor] has made arrangements to resume . . . publication . . ." Signed "S. Crawford." Evidently the funds were not forthcoming, as there is no record of a resumption of publication. On Sept. 30, 1823, a correspondent writing to the *Richmond Enquirer* asked of the *Washington Republican*: "Why [has] he [Calhoun] sent his paper [*The Virginia Times*] to several persons in this State who had never subscribed for it?"

tician of the federal school." Some years afterward, Ritchie wrote that he opposed Calhoun because "he went for too radical a construction of the Federal Constitution in advocating a Bank, High Tariff, and Internal Improvements. . . ." In the light of Calhoun's subsequent career, these are, at least, interesting comments on and illustrations of the changing convictions and actions of a leading politician in the middle period of American history.<sup>33</sup>

In North Carolina, the chances for success seemed more favorable than in Virginia. In the spring of 1823, the *Western Carolinian*, influenced by Charles Fisher, the real director of Calhoun's campaign in North Carolina, stated editorially that "Mr. Calhoun's chance is equal, at least, to that of any other candidate. As to talents and merits, he is second to none whose claims are before the public; as to *consistency* of conduct, and independence of action, he stands preeminently above the 'pontifex maximus' [Crawford] of our worthy friend at Milton." Several months later, Crawford's organ, the *Raleigh Register*, characterized Calhoun as a man of high character, integrity, and principles, who "at some future day . . . will probably fill the highest station in the Union."<sup>34</sup> By the summer of 1823, Calhoun's campaign in North Carolina was fairly launched. At this period only he and Crawford received much mention or attention. The State and Congressional elections were looked on as important in that they would afford an indication of the degree and extent of Calhoun's popular support. After these elections the newspapers openly took sides and there was much discussion of the coming presidential campaign, the division being primarily into two camps, Crawford and anti-Crawford. Until the spring of 1824 Calhoun was the chief aggressor and the favorite of the Crawford opposition. It was generally recognized, however, that Calhoun's only hope "lay in producing a popular revolution among a citizenship customarily indifferent" to widespread participation in presidential

<sup>33</sup> Letter to *Richmond Enquirer* of Feb. 12, 1824, quoted in Ambler, C. H., *Sectionalism in Virginia*, p. 128; editorial in the *Richmond Enquirer*, Aug. 12, 1842, quoted in "Thomas Ritchie" in *J. P. Branch Historical Papers*, III, p. 273; editorial *Richmond Enquirer*, Dec. 11, 1823.

<sup>34</sup> *Western Carolinian* quoted in Newsome, *op. cit.*, p. 65; *Raleigh Register*, July 11, 25, 1823, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 63; on July 3, 1821, Calhoun wrote Ninian Edwards that ". . . I am much more attached to principle than promotion . . ." Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 488; on April 21, 1822, Fisher seemed puzzled as to Calhoun's plans. He wrote Ninian Edwards, from Salisbury, N. C.: ". . . But, is Mr. Calhoun certainly a candidate? Is it distinctly understood at Washington that such is the fact? I have all along felt that Mr. Calhoun had no disposition to decline the use of his name if reasonable prospect of success presented itself . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 522.

elections. The Crawford forces hoped to carry the State by caucus nomination and choice of the electors by general ticket. At this time, when the Crawfordites were preparing for the drive that they hoped would dispose of Calhoun's candidacy for good, Calhoun was writing General Swift, his campaign manager in New York, that "North Carolina I think will be right."<sup>35</sup>

The whole subject of the method of nomination of a "choice of President" by caucus or by popular vote was brought to a head by the so-called Fisher Resolutions, which were debated in the North Carolina legislature from December 9 to 20, 1823. Crawford's supporters won the debate and the resolutions were defeated. The Crawfordites were elated and confident of nominating and electing their candidate for President. One of them, Romulus Saunders, wrote Thomas Ruffin commenting bitterly on Calhoun's "selfish views" and saying that he "has out spies, who bring every body that can be operated upon, to his house which is always open to his partisans. . . . I should not be greatly disappointed should he prove a second Burr . . ." The struggle seemed to narrow to a contest between the Calhounites and the people on the one hand and Crawford and the politicians on the other. But the situation soon changed rapidly as the movement in favor of Jackson gained strength. In reality, the Calhoun ticket, formed early in 1824, by a secret committee at Raleigh, was not a spontaneous popular movement. Jackson's nomination early in 1824 delivered a blow which destroyed Calhoun's hopes in North Carolina as in the Nation. His supporters very largely went over to Jackson.<sup>36</sup>

A recent estimate of Calhoun's activities in North Carolina at this time concludes: "The vigorous campaign waged by the Calhoun organization, the brilliant career and attractive personality of Calhoun, the unpopularity of Crawford and the caucus, and the profound discontent, industrial depression, and spirit of revolt were successful in establishing Calhoun as the outstanding

<sup>35</sup> Newsome, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 74, 76; Calhoun to Swift, Sept. 8, 1823, Swift Papers. General Swift's wife was from North Carolina, where her father and brother were prominent and well-to-do local planters. Swift, *Memoirs*, p. 179.

<sup>36</sup> Newsome, A. R., (ed.) "Debate of the Fisher Resolutions," reprint in *North Carolina Historical Review*, IV, pp. 428-470; V, pages 65-96, 204-223, 310-328; Newsome, *op. cit.*, 84 ff.; Saunders to Ruffin, Dec. 29, 1823, Hamilton, J. G. deR., (ed.) *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission, I, p. 286; Newsome, A. R., (ed.) "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun, George McDuffie, and Charles Fisher relating to the Presidential Campaign of 1824," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VII, pp. 577-604; Newsome, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 127.

opposition candidate to Crawford. But Calhoun and his programme were too intellectual to produce popular enthusiasm over his candidacy. It is doubtful whether the Calhoun appeal could have produced a revolution sufficient to overcome the great advantages of Crawford. The replacement of Calhoun by Jackson in March, 1824, changed greatly the aspect of the campaign of 1824 in North Carolina. The People's ticket then stood in reality for the people's candidate."<sup>37</sup>

The first public move in the presidential campaign was the nomination of Calhoun, "as early as [December] 1821," by a group of his friends assembled in Philadelphia. About the same time, as previously mentioned, Calhoun's friend, William Lowndes of South Carolina, was also nominated by a rump caucus of the South Carolina legislature assembled in Columbia. As one writer has said: "The whole structure of Calhoun's campaign was built around his popularity in Pennsylvania, a partiality due largely to his advocacy of doctrines of strong nationalism. His strategy required that he put himself in a position to fall heir to the strength of John Quincy Adams in New England if Adams' candidacy should fail to make progress. To this end he sedulously courted Adams' favor . . . [and] So well did he dissemble his aims that even the suspicious Adams regarded him for some time as a supporter of his own. His discovery that Calhoun had been merely trying to use him, merely trying to shoulder him out of the way as the outspoken exponent of Nationalism, created toward the South Carolinian a hatred little less bitter than that later entertained by Jackson. . . ."<sup>38</sup>

Calhoun's most notable sponsor in Pennsylvania was George M. Dallas, a rising and ambitious young politician with a long and distinguished career ahead of him. He was a son of Alexander J. Dallas, Madison's Secretary of the Treasury and, for a short period, acting Secretary of War. Dallas had associated with him a number of prominent and wealthy manufacturers, bankers, and members of Congress from Eastern Pennsylvania. To place Calhoun's candidacy effectively before the people of the State, the *Franklin Gazette*, which had just been designated "to publish acts

<sup>37</sup> Newsome, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

<sup>38</sup> Clark, Bennett Champ, *John Quincy Adams*, p. 182.

of Congress" in place of the *Democratic Gazette*, edited by John Binns and supporting Crawford, was used. The editors were Richard Bache, a brother-in-law of Dallas and Postmaster at Philadelphia, and John Norvell, afterwards the first Senator from Michigan.<sup>39</sup> This publication aggressively and constantly championed Calhoun's cause, but could excite little interest in the central and western portions of the State. The editors, probably at the suggestion of Calhoun himself, advocated a combination of New York and Pennsylvania in his favor. Such a combination, in Calhoun's opinion, would "form the true basis of the general administration . . . [and] would present a truly substantial foundation, on which to rear a system of policy, national, durable, and prosperous. . . ."<sup>40</sup>

Except for an occasional attack on Crawford, the *Franklin Gazette* at first had little to say regarding the pending presidential campaign, but in March, 1823, it remarked editorially that "In a State like Pennsylvania, which, in national politics, has ever been characterized by a generous devotion to principle and a proud contempt of local aggrandizement or sectional advantage, the character of such a man as John C. Calhoun cannot fail to be appreciated; and we feel the most assured conviction, that She will always be found ready to impart the most substantial demon-

<sup>39</sup> Herman Hailperin in "Pro-Jackson Sentiment in Pennsylvania, 1820-28," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography*, L, pp. 195-197; *National Intelligencer*, Dec. 18, 1821; Richard Bache (1784-1787) was a son of Richard and Sally Franklin Bache and a grandson of Benjamin Franklin. He was a stepbrother to William Duane [Cf. Clark, A. C., "William Duane," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, IX, pp. 14-62,] who conducted the Philadelphia *Aurora* after the death from smallpox in 1798 of Richard's brother, Benjamin Franklin Bache. Schmidt, O. E., *Memorandum of the Bache Family*, p. 4 f. Richard Bache had been appointed postmaster at Philadelphia, June 26, 1817. He had married Sophia Dallas, sister of George M. Dallas and daughter of A. J. Dallas. Scharf, J. T., *History of Philadelphia*, III, p. 1812. Because of luxurious living and free spending, Bache became involved financially and as a result his paper, *The Franklin Gazette*, was finally forced to suspend publication and he himself was deposed as postmaster at Philadelphia, being replaced by Sargent, one of his largest creditors. He was also heavily indebted to John Norvell, originally publisher and co-editor and after May 28, 1821, sole editor and publisher. Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, pp. 42, 245; VII, p. 537. John Norvell, born near Danville, Ky., Dec. 21, 1789, was a printer by trade, who came to Philadelphia in 1816. In 1818 he became associated with Bache in the publication of the *Franklin Gazette*. After this paper ceased publication, Nov. 19, 1828, Norvell stayed on in Philadelphia carrying on his printing business. He moved to Detroit, Mich., in May, 1832, having been appointed postmaster of that place by President Jackson. He also engaged in local and state politics and was the first United States Senator from Michigan after its admission to the Union. Senator Norvell died in Detroit in 1850. *Biographical Dictionary of Congress* (1927 edition), p. 1363; Norvell, Freeman, "The History and Times of the Hon. John Norvell," *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, III, pp. 140-147.

<sup>40</sup> Early in 1822 Calhoun wrote his friend Maxcy that the *Franklin Gazette* "comes out [for me] with great tone." Calhoun to Maxcy, March 18, 1822, Maxcy-Markoe Papers, quoted in Meigs, I, p. 295; editorial *Franklin Gazette* quoted in *National Intelligencer*, July 11, 1822; Calhoun to Swift, May 10, 1823, Swift Papers. An editorial in the *Albany Argus*, Dec. 5, 1823, commenting regarding the use of newspapers in the campaign, stated: ". . . of the several newspapers which have sprung up since the agitation of the question of the presidency not any are more bitter or more calumnious, not controlled less by the suggestions of 'delicacy and generosity' than those devoted to the service of Mr. Calhoun. . . ."

stration of it." This endorsement was followed a few weeks later with the "... prophecy that John C. Calhoun is destined to be the next chief magistrate of the Union. ..."<sup>41</sup>

Throughout the summer and fall of 1823 the *Franklin Gazette* continued to "puff" Calhoun and to depreciate his adversaries, especially Crawford. At the same time an extensive correspondence was carried on by Calhoun and his supporters with political leaders in Philadelphia and eastern Pennsylvania. In March, 1823, thinking to sound out Jackson, Calhoun wrote: "... I find few men with whom I accord so fully in relation to political affairs as yourself. ...". Their disapproval of the conduct and methods of the other candidates was mutual and both shared a common antipathy for Crawford, of whom Jackson had written: "... As to William H. Crawford you know my opinion. I would support the Devil first." At this time Calhoun thought "... The prospect is certainly bright . . .," but several months later his "prospect [was only] very fair." He desired a coalition with Adams, saying: "... I stand wholly on my own basis, and shall continue so to stand. The prospect is good." In spite of strenuous efforts, Crawford and Adams at first made little progress in Pennsylvania. At the time of Crawford's illness in the fall of 1823, Calhoun wrote Dallas: "... Crawford is certainly down without the hope of rising. ..."<sup>42</sup>

Just when all signs seemed favorable, much to Calhoun's dismay, Jackson's pretensions began to assume menacing propor-

<sup>41</sup> *Franklin Gazette*, quoted in *Richmond Enquirer*, March 28, April 8, 1823.

<sup>42</sup> Calhoun to Jackson, June 28, 1822, July 31, Aug., 1823, Bassett, J. S., (ed.) *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, III, pp. 164-165, 193, 203; Jackson to Gadsden, Dec. 6, 1821, Bassett, J. S., *Life of Andrew Jackson*, pp. 327, 336; Calhoun to Stanly, July 20, 1823, Calhoun's *Correspondence*, II, p. 210; Calhoun to J. E. Calhoun, Sept. 28, 1823, and Jan. 20, 1824, *ibid.*, II, pp. 214, 217; A. L. S. Calhoun to G. M. Dallas, n. d. (Fall of 1823?), courtesy of Walter R. Benjamin, New York City. The *Albany Argus*, July 1, 1823, quoted an editorial from the Nashville (Tenn.) *Gazette*, captioned "Political Horse Racing and Presidential Contest," as follows: "... as to Calhoun, he is a mere colt—scarcely bridle-wise. His former performances have given no reputation—and the knowing ones were astonished at the rashness of his keepers in placing him in competition with such tried speed and bottom. He is 'tis true a sprightly, lively looking colt, but he has not one of the marks or points of the first rate. His backers frequently indicated a disposition to withdraw him and venture their funds on the Adams; but in their councils 'madness ruled the house' and he appeared upon the course a candidate for dominion. ...". About this time, on October 5, 1823, Virgil Maxcy wrote Swift a long letter commenting on the favorable turn events seemed to be taking. He thought "... The good cause seems to be gaining ground everywhere in Ohio, in Alabama, in North Carolina and in New England. ...", particularly emphasizing the favorable situation in the last two named localities. Maxcy quoted at length from letters received from William Gaston in North Carolina and Lemuel Williams of New Bedford, Mass. He went on to suggest "an exchange" of *The Patriot* with the *Maryland Republican* as being "very desirable." He also suggested that Swift's forthcoming pamphlet, *Principles not Men* (?), be forwarded to him "for distribution" in Maryland. Maxcy concluded with the request that Swift write "as strong a letter as you can write with truth in relation to the prospect in New York."

tions. “. . . The effervescence which had been excited in Pennsylvania in favor of Jackson . . .” did not subside, as Calhoun and his supporters thought it would, but instead gained form, substance, and strength with each succeeding political gathering. By the fall of the year it had assumed a definite and threatening character. Political leaders in Pennsylvania came to share the opinion of a Virginia observer, who wrote the *Richmond Enquirer*: “. . . I am very much at a loss to know upon what grounds Mr. Calhoun can be supported for the Presidency . . . [To] compare Calhoun’s services . . . with Jackson’s is absurd. . . . Give me one . . . who will be faithful. . . .” Though Calhoun did not lack for supporters, the Jackson movement grew like a snowball. In spite of the evidence accumulating to the contrary, Calhoun could still write the faithful Swift: “. . . You may rest assured the cause is safe. We can give them New York and still beat them with ease. Pennsylvania is as firm as a rock. . . . We feel the fullest assurance that [her] choice will be such as we desire. . . .” At the time Calhoun was writing this reassuring letter, the members of Congress from Pennsylvania were issuing a call for a meeting of Democratic Republican citizens of Pennsylvania to nominate a candidate for the presidency.<sup>43</sup>

On February 14, 1824, a Republican caucus of the Radicals met in Washington and nominated Crawford for President and Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania for Vice President.<sup>44</sup> On February 18th, at a Philadelphia Town Meeting, Dallas, Calhoun’s ardent supporter, in order to preserve his own leadership in Pennsylvania, threw his support to Jackson by reading a resolution nominating Jackson for President and Calhoun for Vice President. This defection, which had been impending for several months, brought dismay to Calhoun; but worse was yet to come. Ten days later, at the Harrisburg convention, Calhoun’s last hopes were dashed to the ground. By a unanimous vote, Jackson was again nominated for President and Calhoun for Vice President. Calhoun wrote his friend Maxcy: “. . . The movement at Philadelphia was . . . unexpected. . . . It has produced the greatest excitement.

<sup>43</sup> Maxcy to Garnett, Nov. 16, 1823, quoted in *American Historical Review*, XII, p. 601; “Henry” to editor *Richmond Enquirer*, Sept. 16, 1823; Calhoun to Swift, Jan. 25, 1824, Swift Papers; “Circular” dated Jan. 6, 1824, quoted from *Franklin Gazette* in *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 14, 1824; “A Virginian” in re “Circular,” in *Richmond Enquirer*, Jan. 20, 1824.

<sup>44</sup> *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 18, 1824.

. . . Had Penna. decided favorably [for me] the prospect would have been most fair. Taking the *United States* together I never had a fairer prospect than on the day we lost the State. . . ." Because of this action of Pennsylvania, the *National Intelligencer* commented editorially: ". . . Mr. Calhoun will no longer be pressed upon the country. . . ." <sup>45</sup> One observer who knew Calhoun and his family intimately recorded: "Mr. Calhoun . . . will live, I suspect, quite retired for the rest of the session. He does not look well and feels very deeply the disappointment of his ambition. . . ." It is also evident, from his correspondence, that the effort to secure the nomination for President had imposed a strain on his financial resources. On more than one occasion he mentioned the burden of expenses. <sup>46</sup>

Reluctantly, Calhoun accepted the verdict. As early as the summer of 1823, one of his Ohio friends had written: ". . . It must be admitted that [Calhoun] is the choice [for the Vice Presidency] of almost every man in the country. . . ." Calhoun's "enthusiastic friend and follower," John McLean of Ohio, had also urged him to withdraw from the contest for the presidency and to concentrate his efforts to secure nomination and election to the office of Vice President. Other friends and supporters, including the *Franklin Gazette*, counseled acceptance of the verdict of the Pennsylvania conventions. But DeGrand, the editor

<sup>45</sup> Resolution of G. M. Dallas, *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 23, 1824; cf. also *ibid.*, March 1, 10, 11, 1824; Report of Harrisburg Convention, *ibid.*, March 15, 1824, and *Richmond Enquirer*, Feb. 26, 28, 1824; Calhoun to Maxcy, Feb. 17, 1824, Maxcy-Markoe Papers, quoted in Meigs, I, p. 307, and Bassett, J. S., *Life of Andrew Jackson*, p. 334; *Washington Republican* quoted in *National Intelligencer*, March 16, 1824. A Calhoun supporter who attended the Harrisburg convention wrote as his opinion that "as Jackson's friends were increasing every day [the Calhoun adherents] thought it the most prudent course to join the strongest party. Having decided on this they publicly and promptly abandoned Mr. Calhoun and swore fealty to General Jackson. . . You will see too with how little ceremony, a genuine Phila politician [G. M. Dallas?] will abandon a sworn friend and go over to the enemy. . . ." John Robertson to R. S. Garnett, Feb. 29, 1824. A. L. S. courtesy Walter R. Benjamin, New York City. Several weeks later the same observer again wrote: ". . . Had it not been therefore, from the instructions given at some of the county meetings, and the extraordinary desertion of Dallas from Calhoun, this gentleman would probably have been nominated as the Penna candidate . . . Altho Penna therefore is now seemingly pledged to support Jackson . . . yet I am fully persuaded that, if in the course of the summer, his election should appear doubtful the leaders of the party would desert him with as little ceremony as they lately deserted Calhoun . . ." In connection with Jackson's nomination Robertson continued: ". . . It is now said that letters received from Washington [indicate] that Jackson and Calhoun had come to an understanding on the subject; that Calhoun is to receive their united support for the Vice Presidency, and to succeed General Jackson at the end of four years. All I shall say is, that if Jackson has made such a bargain as this, and I hardly think his friends would make such a one without his knowledge, he is not the kind of a man, which they have hitherto represented him to be. For my own part, the accounts we hear of him are so contradictory, that I do not [know] what to think of him . . ." Robertson to Garnett, March 7, 1824, *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Mrs. S. H. Smith to Mrs. Samuel Boyd, April 11, 1824, Smith, *The First Forty Years of Washington Society*, p. 164; Calhoun to Swift, Oct. 30, 1823, Swift Papers; Calhoun to J. E. Calhoun, Sept. 28, 1823, Calhoun's *Correspondence*, II, p. 213.

of the *Boston Weekly Register*, questioned the advisability of Calhoun's standing for the Vice Presidency. In January, 1824, he wrote General Dearborn on the subject, saying: ". . . The Senate is a body of old men. . . . Is it fit and proper to place a gentleman, comparatively young, as Mr. Calhoun is, over their shoulders, to preside over them? There is very little deliberation in the Senate. . . . The Vice Presidency . . . would be too much like laying him over the shelf. . . ." DeGrand preferred Jackson, because he was older, as Vice President, with Adams or perhaps Calhoun as President. Calhoun, however, was still young and he would himself be the "heir apparent" to Jackson by the combination now made. Though he had criticized similar methods by his opponents, Calhoun had built his hopes on the politicians; Jackson's strength was with the people.<sup>47</sup>

If the affairs in New York in the winter of 1823 could have been so managed as to bring about a strong declaration in favor of Calhoun, it would have heartened his supporters elsewhere. Perhaps Pennsylvania would not have dropped him so soon, if at all; North Carolina, where the contest with Crawford for a time seemed close, might have declared, contingently at least, for Calhoun. The debate on the Fisher Resolutions was ably conducted by Calhoun's supporters. With the help of a favoring commitment by New York, North Carolina also might have been held in the Calhoun camp. Ohio, though for Clay, might have been delivered to Calhoun, if he had had sufficient positive support elsewhere. This would have left Virginia standing fast for Crawford and New England for Adams. These speculative ifs are at least interesting to contemplate, though Calhoun's chances of election in 1824 were probably never very good, especially after the Jackson movement got under way. Had Calhoun been elected President in 1824, the course of American history in the Middle Period and later, undoubtedly, would have been substantially affected and changed.

During the remainder of the campaign Calhoun endeavored to hold a middle of the road course as between Adams and Jackson.

<sup>47</sup> Thomas Finley to James Findlay, May 24, 1823 *Publications* Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, I, p. 67; Weisenburger, F. P., "John McLean, Postmaster General," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVIII, p. 23 f.; DeGrand to General Henry Dearborn, Jan., 1824, quoted in *Magazine of American History*, VIII, pp. 29, 31; Bassett, J. S., *Life of Andrew Jackson*, p. 334; "A Democratic Republican" to the editor, *Richmond Enquirer*, Sept. 9, 1823.

He believed Crawford to be out of the race; he had never considered Clay and DeWitt Clinton as any more than hopeful candidates. But as between Jackson and Adams, he must be prepared to produce a clear record of support, whichever was elected, though he seemed to prefer Jackson. As matters turned out, his course was a wise one. Jackson received the largest number of electoral votes, but Adams won the coveted office by the vote in the House of Representatives and the support of Clay. The controversy with Jackson was of a later date and had no reference to the presidential campaign of 1824. Van Buren, on his part, was not reconciled to the result. Wheaton, one of Calhoun's New York supporters, wrote Samuel L. Gouverneur, Monroe's son-in-law, shortly after the election: "... Van Buren looks like a wilted cabbage . . . [but his] intrigues will not cease as long as there is the slightest glimmering of hope. . . ." <sup>48</sup>

This presidential campaign of 1824 distinctly marks a turning point in Calhoun's career. Back of him lay a record of success in the national interest; ahead was that unique and enigmatic course of sectional leadership and thwarted ambition. To the end he was an arresting figure, a capable and dynamic leader, increasingly withdrawing from the world of reality into the realm of speculative thought and dialectical argument. It is an interesting speculation as to what extent Calhoun's future course was influenced and determined by his failure in this campaign and its aftermath of vice presidential immolation and personal contact with Jackson. Was he driven into an introspective inferiority complex as a result of his disappointment and thwarted ambition, or did he make a free choice?

The campaign likewise marked the lowest ebb of Calhoun's political ethics. He seemed to have the "heartlessness and finesse of a deep politician," who appeared to use men only to discard

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<sup>48</sup> Calhoun urged to support Adams, J. A. Dix to John W. Taylor, Oct. 10, 24, Nov. 3, 11, 24, 1824, John W. Taylor Papers; Dix to S. L. Gouverneur, Feb. 9, 1825, Gouverneur Papers; Calhoun's support of Jackson, J. A. Dix, Memorandum, Feb. 20, 1825, Washington, "prepared in order to guard against any misrepresentation" as to Calhoun's attitude towards Adams and Jackson. Dix wrote that Calhoun "... always held the strongest language in relation to his resolution of neutrality . . ." This Memorandum, written in February, 1825, was not made known to Calhoun until Sept., 1828, who, at that time, was privileged to use it "... whenever it may be necessary to repel any unfounded imputations in relation to the matters which it treats." Cf. endorsement on Memo. made by Dix, Nov. 17, 1828, Dix, *Memoirs*, II, pp. 309-313; Wheaton to Gouverneur, Nov. 21, 1824, Gouverneur Papers; the *Richmond Enquirer* accused the Calhoun papers, particularly the *New York Patriot* and the *Washington Republican*, of going over to Jackson both directly and by suggestion. See *Richmond Enquirer* from Feb. 15 to April 15, 1824, particularly March 2, 4, 6, 9, 26, and April 6, 1824.

them once they had served his purpose and could no longer be of use to him. Throughout, he appears as a scheming politician who lacked "judgment and moderation," intent primarily on his own personal advancement to the highest post in the land.<sup>49</sup> He was not loath to attack Crawford in the conventional manner of the politician, accusing him of corrupt dealings with the banks and with other disgraceful transactions. The "A B Plot," as the charges were called, in the end was detrimental to Calhoun. In any case such methods did not help him any. As a counter-attack Crawford and his friends tore the lid off the so-called scandal of the Mix contracts and endeavored to make it appear that Calhoun was responsible. The administration of the War Department was represented as having been extravagant and inefficient; the Indian Trade department was declared an unnecessary extravagance; and Calhoun's friend, McKenney, was investigated, but, in the end, exonerated. Adams, on his part, came to see Calhoun's hand in almost every case in which he (Adams) did not have his own way, and declared that Calhoun would ruin himself by his "hurried ambition." Whatever the justice of these and other charges, Calhoun's conduct and actions in the campaign hardly improved his prospects, notwithstanding the fact that conditions favorable to his success were never present. As von Holst has written: "... No sincere friend of Calhoun's can look quite undismayed upon this chapter of his public life. The presidential fever, that typical disease, which has proved fatal to the true glory of so many statesmen of the United States, permeated the very marrow of his bones. His ambition did not betray him into any dishonorable act, but his eye became dimmed with regard to the public weal, because, consciously or unconsciously, the fatal consideration, what effect his course would have upon his standing as a candidate, entered more or less into every question. . . ." <sup>50</sup>

The campaign was a sectional one without any clearly defined sectional issues. The five principal candidates lived on the arc of a circle from Adams in New England to Clay in Kentucky,

<sup>49</sup> Winfield Scott to Swift, Oct. 24, 1825, Swift Papers; Plumer, Jr., to Plumer, Jan. 27, 1821, *Plumer*, p. 64.

<sup>50</sup> Meigs, I, p. 295; *Franklin Gazette*, quoted in *National Intelligencer*, April 26, 1823; Young, F. P., "John C. Calhoun as Secretary of War," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XIII, pp. 297-337; Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, p. 60; Plumer, Jr., to Plumer, Dec. 3, 1823, *Plumer*, pp. 85-87; Hunt, *John C. Calhoun*, p. 51; von Holst, *John C. Calhoun*, p. 57.

Jackson in Tennessee, Crawford in Georgia, and Calhoun in South Carolina. It soon became intensely personal, however, especially as between Crawford and the other candidates. All aspirants thought to advance their individual candidacies by attacking and depreciating Crawford. In spite of these constant attacks, Crawford, who from the first was the leading contender, managed to stay in the race, though eventually he lost popularity for two reasons. He was the selection of what had come to be the odious and unrepresentative Congressional caucus; in fact, throughout the campaign, he pinned his faith on the political caucus of whatever hue. In the midst of the campaign he fell an unfortunate victim of a stroke of paralysis that was all but fatal. As Calhoun and Crawford lost ground, the drift toward Jackson gained in momentum, until at election time the choice, patently, lay between Adams and Jackson. Calhoun played safe and won the vice presidency; and, though for many years to come he still hoped to attain the prize, he was never again so close to realizing his ambition as in the spring and summer of 1823. New problems were arising and new divisions along rigid sectional and social lines were taking place. Out of the election of 1824 came a new alignment of parties, men, and measures. The period distinctly marks the transition from an old era to a new one. Calhoun was one of the most important and forceful leaders of this new era. The impress of his thought and actions was determinative for many years and has left its mark on American life and thought, even to this day, one hundred years since.

## JUDICIAL DISTRICTS OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1746-1934

Compiled by D. L. CORBITT

The charters<sup>1</sup> of 1663 and 1665 granting Carolina to the Lords Proprietors gave these eight men positions in judicial matters similar to the king's in England. In 1669 the Fundamental Constitutions<sup>2</sup> were adopted, which provided for an ample judicial system. Each proprietor was to preside over a court, if present, with the oldest proprietor presiding over the Palatine court, the highest in the colony. The other courts were the Chief Justice's Court, the Constable's Court, the Admiral's Court, the Treasurer's Court, the High Steward's Court, the Chamberlain's Court, and the Chancellor's Court. Other and lesser courts were also provided for.

The Fundamental Constitutions were too extensive in scope for practical purposes in the undeveloped and sparsely settled colony. Thus they could not be put fully in operation. However, certain features were workable and were adopted.

Each county—and there were to be eight—was to have a county court. These county or assize courts were to have itinerant judges who should hold courts the first Mondays in February, May, August, and November. Also each county was to be divided into four precincts, and each precinct was to have a precinct court.<sup>3</sup> These precinct courts were to be presided over by a steward and four justices of the peace, and were to be held the first Mondays in January, April, July, and October. These precinct<sup>4</sup> courts—later called Pleas and Quarter Sessions—continued to be held until the adoption of the Constitution of 1868.

The county court evolved into what was later called the General<sup>5</sup> or Grand Sessions Court. It was an appellate court of the

<sup>1</sup> *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. I, pp. 20-33, 102-114 (hereafter this will be cited as *C. R.*)

<sup>2</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. 25, p. 123 ff. (hereafter this will be cited as *S. R.*); *C. R.*, Vol. I, p. 188 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The oldest Precinct Court Minutes the compiler has seen is from Perquimans County and is dated 1689-1693. It is in possession of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

<sup>4</sup> In 1739 an act was passed changing the precincts to counties. *S. R.*, Vol. 23, p. 126.

<sup>5</sup> The oldest General Court Minutes the compiler has seen is dated 1693 and is in the possession of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

Pleas and Quarter Sessions and was held in the Albemarle section until 1746, when it was moved to New Bern.<sup>6</sup>

In 1738 a court of assize<sup>7</sup> or district court was established, which held sessions at Bath, New Bern, and New Town—Wilmington. In 1746 the General Assembly repealed the act of 1738 and established the Edenton, Wilmington, and Edgecombe district courts. In 1754 another act<sup>8</sup> was passed establishing five district courts, as follows: New Bern, Edenton, Edgecombe, Wilmington, and Salisbury. The laws relative to judicial districts were amended and the number of districts increased as the growth of the State required until by 1790 there were eight districts divided into two ridings of four districts each. In 1806 an act was passed redistricting the State and establishing a Superior Court in each county.

The judicial districts which were first established in 1746<sup>9</sup> have grown from three to twenty. The last act redistricting the State was passed in 1913.

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<sup>6</sup> The General Court had been held at Edenton approximately thirty years, and prior to that time it had been held in individual homes. The act moving the court from Edenton to New Bern also moved the administrative department of the government. *S. R.*, Vol. 23, p. 252.

<sup>7</sup> *S. R.*, Vol. 23, p. 127. The caption of the act reads, "An act for appointing circuit courts, and for enlarging the powers of the county court." The North Carolina Historical Commission has a docket of this circuit or assize court, 1739-1740, which was held at Bath for the counties of Hyde and Beaufort, at New Bern for the counties of Craven and Carteret, and at New Town—Wilmington—for the counties of New Hanover, Bladen, and Onslow.

<sup>8</sup> *S. R.*, Vol. 25, p. 274.

<sup>9</sup> The compiler has used this date as the date when the first judicial districts were established because the first complete law available relative to judicial districts was passed that year. It is true there were district or assize courts prior to that date as proven by the docket of the court of assize held at Bath, New Bern, and New Town—Wilmington. But, only the caption of the law is available, and since this docket of the assize has no record dealing with Bertie, Tyrrell, Edgecombe, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Chowan, and Currituck counties, this date has been selected as the starting point.

JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1746<sup>1</sup>

GENERAL COURT.<sup>2</sup> *New Bern.* 2nd Tuesdays in March and September.

EDENTON<sup>3</sup> DISTRICT. *Edenton.* 2nd Tuesdays in April and October.

Bertie, Chowan, Currituck, Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Tyrrell.

EDGECOMBE<sup>3</sup> DISTRICT. *Edgecombe Courthouse.*<sup>4</sup> 4th Tuesdays in April and October.

Edgecombe, Granville, or any counties established west of Granville, Northampton, and Orange.<sup>5</sup>

WILMINGTON<sup>3</sup> DISTRICT. *Wilmington.* 2nd Tuesdays in May and November.

Bladen, New Hanover, and Onslow or any counties established westward or southward of Onslow.

NEW BERN DISTRICT.<sup>6</sup> *New Bern.* 2nd Tuesdays in March and September.

Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Hyde, and Johnston.

JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1754<sup>7</sup>

NEW BERN DISTRICT. *New Bern.* 3rd Tuesdays in March and September.

Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Hyde, and Johnston.

EDENTON DISTRICT. *Edenton.* 2nd Tuesdays in April and October.

Bertie, Chowan, Currituck, Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Tyrrell.

<sup>1</sup> The Laws of 1746, Chap. 2, established Edenton, Edgecombe, and Wilmington districts, and provided that all counties not specifically included in those districts would carry their cases to New Bern. These district courts were called "court of assize, Oyer and Terminer, and General Gaol Delivery," and were held twice each year. This act also removed the General and Chancery courts from Edenton to New Bern. Vol. 23, p. 252. Section VII of the act states, "And be it further enacted, . . . that all Writs, Plaints and Process whatsoever, shall, as heretofore, be issued out, commenced and filed in General Court at New Bern aforesaid, and all the Pleadings and Proceedings thereon shall be carried on and transacted in the said Court, until the Cause, shall be at issue; and when such Causes shall be at issue full Power and Authority is hereby given to the said Court to issue out a Writ of Nisi Prius Record of the Proceedings and Pleadings in all Actions to the proper Place for the trial of the Issue before appointed for that Purpose. . . ." Section IV of the act states "And be it further Enacted, that the said Chief Justice or Justices of Assize, shall, upon the said Transcript of the Record, certify under his or their Hands and Seals the Verdict of the Juries, and the whole Proceedings had thereupon, and to return or cause the same to be returned and filed in the General Court Office in New Bern aforesaid."

<sup>2</sup> This was really the appellate court and was presided over by the Chief Justice and three Associate Justices.

<sup>3</sup> Presided over by the Chief Justice.

<sup>4</sup> This courthouse was located in the present town of Enfield. W. C. Allen, *History of Halifax County*, pp. 11, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Orange County was established in 1752. *S. R.*, Vol. 23, pp. 383, 390; Vol. 25, p. 256.

<sup>6</sup> "And be it further Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That the Issues in all Actions and Plaints whatsoever, where the Visne is laid in any other County than before mentioned, and all Prosecutions for Criminal Matters, where the Fact in the Indictment is laid to be committed in any other County than before mentioned [those listed in other districts], shall be heard and tryed at the General Court to be held at New Bern." *S. R.*, Vol. 23, p. 252.

<sup>7</sup> These courts were called by the "Name of the Supreme Courts of Justice, Oyer and Terminer, and General Gaol Delivery of North Carolina," and were presided over by the Chief Justice and three other Justices. There was no time specified for the duration of this act. *S. R.*, Vol. 25, p. 274.

EDGECOMBE DISTRICT. *Courthouse at Enfield—Halifax*.<sup>8</sup> 1st Tuesdays in May and November.

Edgecombe, Granville, and Northampton.

SALISBURY DISTRICT. *Salisbury*. 4th Tuesdays in May and November. Anson, Orange, and Rowan.

WILMINGTON DISTRICT. *Wilmington*. 4th Tuesdays in February and August.

Bladen, Cumberland, Duplin, New Hanover, and Onslow.

#### JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1760<sup>9</sup>

EDENTON DISTRICT. *Edenton*. 20th days of May and November.

Bertie, Chowan, Currituck, Hertford, Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Tyrrell.

HALIFAX DISTRICT. *Halifax*. 1st days of March and September.

Edgecombe, Granville, Halifax, Johnston, Northampton, and Orange.

SALISBURY DISTRICT. *Salisbury*. 22nd days of March and September. Anson and Rowan.

WILMINGTON DISTRICT. *Wilmington*. 15th days of April and October.

Bladen, Cumberland, Duplin, New Hanover, and Onslow.

NEW BERN DISTRICT. *New Bern*. 30th days of April and October.

Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Dobbs, and Hyde.

#### JUDICIAL DISTRICTS 1762–64<sup>10</sup>

EDENTON DISTRICT. *Edenton*. 20th days of May and November.

Bertie, Chowan, Currituck, Hertford, Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Tyrrell.

HALIFAX DISTRICT. *Halifax*. 1st days of March and September.

Edgecombe, Granville, Halifax, Johnston, Northampton, and Orange.

SALISBURY DISTRICT. *Salisbury*. 22nd days of March and September.

Anson and Rowan.

<sup>8</sup> The Courthouse was moved from Enfield to Halifax in 1758. *S. R.*, Vol. 23, p. 490.

<sup>9</sup> This act stipulated that the court should be known by the name of the "Superior Court of Pleas and Grand Sessions, for the district in which the same was held," and was to be presided over by the Chief Justice and three Associate Justices. The last section of the act reads, "Provided always, That if his Majesty shall not give his Royal Allowance and Confirmation of this Act within the Space of Two Years after the Tenth Day of November next [1760]; that then, and from thenceforth, the same shall be null and void, and the several Powers and Authorities therein contained cease and determine; anything therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding." *S. R.*, Vol. 25, p. 433.

<sup>10</sup> The name of the court under this act was the "Superior Court of Justice for the District." Each court was presided over by the Chief Justice and one Associate Justice resident in the district, except the Salisbury District, which because of the remote distance was allowed an assistant judge to the Chief Justice who could hold court in the absence of the Chief Justice. This act was to remain in force for two years after the first day of January, 1763. *S. R.*, Vol. 23, pp. 550, 563, 632. In 1764 the act was amended so that the Chief Justice could hold court in the districts without the assistance of the Associate Justices. *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, p. 632.

WILMINGTON DISTRICT. *Wilmington*. 15th days of April and October.  
Bladen, Cumberland, Duplin, New Hanover, and Onslow.

NEW BERN DISTRICT. *New Bern*. 2nd days of May and November.  
Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Dobbs, Hyde, and Pitt.

JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1767<sup>11</sup>

SALISBURY DISTRICT. *Salisbury*. 5th days of March and September.  
Anson, Mecklenburg, Rowan, and Surry.<sup>12</sup>

HILLSBORO DISTRICT. *Hillsboro*. 22nd days of March and September.  
Granville and Orange.

HALIFAX DISTRICT. *Halifax*. 8th days of April and October.  
Bute, Edgecombe, Halifax, Johnston, and Northampton.

EDENTON DISTRICT. *Edenton*. 25th days of April and October.  
Bertie, Chowan, Currituck, Hertford, Pasquotank, Perquimans, and  
Tyrrell.

NEW BERN DISTRICT. *New Bern*. 11th days of May and November.  
Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Dobbs, Hyde, and Pitt.

WILMINGTON DISTRICT. *Wilmington*. 27th days of May and November.  
Bladen, Brunswick, Cumberland, Duplin, New Hanover, and Onslow.

JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1773<sup>13</sup>

SALISBURY DISTRICT. *Salisbury*. 5th days of March and September.  
Anson, Guilford, Mecklenburg, Rowan, Surry, and Tryon.

HILLSBORO DISTRICT. *Hillsboro*. 22nd days of March and September.  
Chatham, Granville, Orange, and Wake.

HALIFAX DISTRICT. *Halifax*. 8th days of April and October.  
Bute, Edgecombe, Halifax, and Northampton.

EDENTON DISTRICT. *Edenton*. 25th days of April and October.  
Bertie, Chowan, Currituck, Hertford, Pasquotank, Perquimans, and  
Tyrrell.

<sup>11</sup> The name in this act was the Superior Court of Justice for that district. Each court was presided over by the Chief Justice and two Associate Justices. The act was to remain in force five years, "and to the end of the next session of the General Assembly and no longer." *S. R.*, Vol. 23, p. 688. In 1771 the General Assembly failed to reenact this law. *C. R.*, Vol. 9, pp. 108, 112, 117, 148, 149, 156, 159, 179, 185. In 1773 a court law was passed, but there was a clause suspending the operation of the act "till his Majesty's Royal Will and Pleasure be Known thereon." *S. R.*, Vol. 23, p. 872.

<sup>12</sup> Surry was formed from Rowan in 1770. *S. R.*, Vol. 23, p. 844.

<sup>13</sup> This court was named "the Superior Court of Justice for that District," and was presided over by the Chief Justice and two Associate Justices. *S. R.*, Vol. 23, page 872. Last section of the act reads, "Provided, That the execution of this Act be suspended and deferred till his Majesty's Royal Will and Pleasure be Known thereon." *Ibid.*

NEW BERN DISTRICT. *New Bern.* 11th days of May and November.  
Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Dobbs, Hyde, Johnston, and Pitt.

WILMINGTON DISTRICT. *Wilmington.* 27th days of May and November.

Bladen, Brunswick, Cumberland, Duplin, New Hanover, and Onslow.

#### JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1776<sup>14</sup>

WILMINGTON DISTRICT. *Wilmington.* 20th days of February and August.

Bladen, Brunswick, Cumberland, Duplin, New Hanover, and Onslow.

SALISBURY DISTRICT. *Salisbury.* 3rd days of March and September.  
Anson, Guilford, Mecklenburg, Rowan, Surry, Tryon, and Washington District. (Western territory later erected into Washington County).

HILLSBORO DISTRICT. *Hillsboro.* 20th days of March and September.  
Chatham, Granville, Orange, and Wake.

HALIFAX DISTRICT. *Halifax.* 17th days of March and September.  
Bute, Edgecombe, Halifax, and Northampton.

EDENTON DISTRICT. *Edenton.* 24th days of March and September.  
Bertie, Chowan, Currituck, Hertford, Martin, Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Tyrrell.

NEW BERN DISTRICT. *New Bern.* 29th days of March and September.  
Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Dobbs, Hyde, Johnston, and Pitt.

#### JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1777-1790<sup>15</sup>

SALISBURY DISTRICT. *Salisbury.*

1777-1782. 5th days of March and September<sup>16</sup> until 1778<sup>17</sup> and the 15th days of March and September until 1782.

<sup>14</sup> The Preamble to this ordinance reads, "Whereas it is necessary for the due Administration of Justice that courts should be established for the trial of criminals. . . ." Since the court law of 1767 had expired, and the new law was suspended awaiting the Crown's assent, the jails were full of people awaiting trial. This court was called the Court of Sessions of the Peace, Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery. The ordinance provided that the court should be held twice annually in each district for a space of five days by adjournment exclusive of Sundays. It also provided for the appointment of two persons as judges in each district. This ordinance was to remain in force to the end of the next session of the General Assembly and no longer. *S. R.*, Vol. 23, p. 990.

<sup>15</sup> There were two laws passed in 1777. The first called the court, "Sessions of the Peace, Oyer and Terminer, and General Gaol Delivery," and the second, the "Superior Court of Law in the District." Both laws provided for six judicial districts, namely: Edenton, New Bern, Wilmington, Halifax, Hillsboro, and Salisbury. The law also provided for three judges. There was a clause prohibiting argument in certain cases before less than two judges. The first act was to remain in force to the end of the next session of the General Assembly. The second law did not have any time limitation. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, pp. 36, 48. The law as amended during this period, 1777-1790, has been worked in in order to prevent repetition.

<sup>16</sup> There were two laws passed in 1777. One gave the dates of holding court on the 1st Tuesdays of March and September, while the other gave the 5th days of March and September. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, pp. 36, 50.

<sup>17</sup> In 1778 a law was passed changing the time of holding court as indicated. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 161.

SALISBURY DISTRICT—1777-1782—*continued*.

Anson, Burke, Guilford,<sup>18</sup> Lincoln,<sup>19</sup> Mecklenburg, Montgomery,<sup>20</sup> Richmond,<sup>21</sup> Rowan, Rutherford,<sup>19</sup> Sullivan,<sup>22</sup> Surry, Tryon,<sup>19</sup> Washington District, and Wilkes.<sup>23</sup>

1782<sup>24</sup>-1787. 15th days of March and September.

Anson, Guilford, Mecklenburg, Montgomery, Richmond,<sup>25</sup> Rockingham,<sup>26</sup> Rowan, and Surry.

1787<sup>27</sup>-1790. 15th days of March and September.

Anson,<sup>28</sup> Guilford, Iredell,<sup>29</sup> Mecklenburg, Montgomery, Rockingham, Rowan, Stokes,<sup>30</sup> and Surry.

MORGAN DISTRICT.<sup>31</sup> *Morganton*.

1782-1784. 1st days of March and September.

Burke, Davidson,<sup>32</sup> Greene,<sup>33</sup> Lincoln, Rutherford, Sullivan, Washington, and Wilkes.

1784<sup>34</sup>-1790. 1st days of March and September.

Burke, Lincoln, Rutherford, and Wilkes.

WASHINGTON DISTRICT.<sup>34</sup> *Washington Courthouse*.

1784-1785. 15th days of February and August.

Davidson, Greene, Sullivan, and Washington.

1785<sup>35</sup>-1790. 15th days of February and August.

Greene, Hawkins,<sup>36</sup> Sullivan, and Washington.

DAVIDSON DISTRICT.<sup>35</sup> *Nashville*.

1785-1788. 1st Mondays in May and November.

Davidson and Sumner.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Randolph was formed from Guilford in 1778 and put in the Hillsboro District. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 689.

<sup>19</sup> Tryon was abolished in 1778 and Rutherford and Lincoln were formed from it. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 236.

<sup>20</sup> Montgomery was formed from Anson in 1778. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 232.

<sup>21</sup> Richmond was formed from Anson in 1779. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 287.

<sup>22</sup> Sullivan was formed from Washington in 1779. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 300.

<sup>23</sup> Wilkes was not listed in the first law of 1777. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 37.

<sup>24</sup> Morgan District was formed from Salisbury in 1782. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 450.

<sup>25</sup> See notes 27 and 62 below.

<sup>26</sup> Rockingham was formed from Guilford in 1785. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 745.

<sup>27</sup> Cape Fear District was established in 1787 and four counties were taken from the Wilmington District and one from the Salisbury District. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 927.

<sup>28</sup> In 1789 Anson was placed in the Fayetteville District. *S. R.*, Vol. 25, p. 13.

<sup>29</sup> Iredell was formed from Rowan in 1788. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 980.

<sup>30</sup> Stokes was formed from Surry in 1789. *S. R.*, Vol. 25, p. 13.

<sup>31</sup> Morgan District was formed from Salisbury District, 1782. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 450. Because of non-attendance of Judges of Morgan District, in 1788 an act was passed authorizing the appointment of an additional Judge for that District. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 975.

<sup>32</sup> Davidson was formed from western lands in 1783. (This act was not all printed and nothing was said about a district court, but this was the logical district in which to place it.) *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 540. In 1784 an act was passed establishing a court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery to be held twice a year (on 3rd Mondays of April and October) for a space of two years. The judge was to be elected by the Assembly and commissioned by the governor. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 599.

<sup>33</sup> Greene was formed from Washington in 1783. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 539.

<sup>34</sup> Morgan District was divided in 1784, and Washington District was formed from it. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 689.

<sup>35</sup> Davidson County was made a separate district in 1785. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 766.

<sup>36</sup> Hawkins was formed from Sullivan in 1786. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 830.

<sup>37</sup> Sumner was formed from Davidson in 1786. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 826.

MERO<sup>38</sup> DISTRICT. *Nashville.*

1788-1790. 1st Mondays in May and November.

Davidson, Sumner, and Tennessee.<sup>39</sup>HILLSBORO DISTRICT. *Hillsboro.*1777-1790. 24th days<sup>40</sup> of March and September until 1778.<sup>41</sup> 1st days of April and October to 1790.Caswell, Chatham, Granville, Orange, Randolph,<sup>42</sup> and Wake.HALIFAX DISTRICT. *Halifax.*1777-1790. 12th days<sup>43</sup> of April and October until 1778.<sup>44</sup> 15th days of April and October until 1784.<sup>45</sup> 17th days of April and October until 1790.Bute,<sup>46</sup> Edgecombe, Franklin,<sup>46</sup> Halifax, Martin,<sup>43</sup> Nash,<sup>47</sup> Northampton, and Warren.<sup>46</sup>EDENTON DISTRICT. *Edenton.*1777-1790. 1st days<sup>48</sup> of May and November until 1784. 3rd days of May and November until 1790.Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates,<sup>49</sup> Hertford, Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Tyrrell.NEW BERN DISTRICT. *New Bern.*1777-1790. 20th days<sup>50</sup> of March and November until 1778. 15th days<sup>51</sup> of May and November until 1784. 20th days<sup>52</sup> of May and November until 1790.Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Dobbs, Hyde, Johnston, Jones,<sup>53</sup> Pitt, and Wayne.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Davidson District was changed to Mero in 1788. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 975. In 1790 North Carolina ceded her western lands to the United States and the territory embraced in Washington and Mero districts became a part of Tennessee. Ashe, S. A., *History of North Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 120.

<sup>39</sup> Tennessee was formed from Davidson in 1788. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 972.

<sup>40</sup> There were two laws passed in 1777. One of these laws stipulated that courts were to be held on the 3rd Tuesdays of June and December. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 37. The other law gave the dates stated above. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 50.

<sup>41</sup> In 1778 a law was passed changing the dates for holding court. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 161.

<sup>42</sup> Randolph was formed from Guilford in 1778. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 234. See also note 18 above.

<sup>43</sup> There were two laws passed in 1777. One of these laws stipulated that courts were to be held the last Tuesdays of May and November. Also Martin County was in the Edenton District. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 37. The other law gave the dates stated above and put Martin in this district. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 50.

<sup>44</sup> Date changed. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 161.

<sup>45</sup> Date changed. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 667.

<sup>46</sup> Bute was abolished in 1778 and Franklin and Warren were formed from it. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 227.

<sup>47</sup> Nash was not listed in the first law passed in 1777. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 36.

<sup>48</sup> There were two laws passed in 1777. One stipulated that court was to be held the third Tuesdays of March and September. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 37. The other law gave the dates listed above. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, pp. 50, 161. In 1784 the dates were changed again. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 668.

<sup>49</sup> Gates was formed from Hertford, Chowan, and Perquimans in 1778. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 230.

<sup>50</sup> One of the laws passed in 1777 stipulated that court was to be held on the first Tuesdays of March and September, and the other the dates given above. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, pp. 37, 50.

<sup>51</sup> *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 162.

<sup>52</sup> *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 668.

<sup>53</sup> Jones was formed from Craven in 1778. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 225.

<sup>54</sup> Wayne was formed from Dobbs in 1779. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 290.

WILMINGTON DISTRICT. *Wilmington.*

1777-1787. 7th days<sup>55</sup> of June and December until 1778. 30th days<sup>56</sup> of May and November until 1784. 6th days<sup>57</sup> of June and December until 1787.

Bladen, Brunswick,<sup>58</sup> Cumberland, Duplin, Moore,<sup>59</sup> New Hanover, Onslow, Robeson,<sup>60</sup> and Sampson.<sup>61</sup>

1787<sup>27</sup>-1790. 6th days of June and December.

Bladen, Brunswick, Duplin, New Hanover, and Onslow.

CAPE FEAR<sup>27</sup> OR FAYETTEVILLE DISTRICT. *Fayetteville.*

1787-1790. 20th days of June and December until 1790.

Anson,<sup>28</sup> Cumberland, Moore, Richmond,<sup>62</sup> Robeson, and Sampson.

JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1790<sup>63</sup>

## EASTERN RIDING

EDENTON DISTRICT. *Edenton.* 6th days of April and October.

Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell, and Washington.<sup>64</sup>

HALIFAX DISTRICT. *Halifax.* 23rd days of April and October.

Edgecombe, Franklin, Halifax, Martin, Nash, Northampton, and Warren.

NEW BERN DISTRICT. *New Bern.* 19th days of March and September.

Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Dobbs,<sup>65</sup> Glasgow,<sup>65</sup> Hyde, Johnston, Jones, Lenoir,<sup>65</sup> Pitt, and Wayne.

<sup>55</sup> There were two laws passed in 1777. One gave the dates of holding court the 3rd Tuesdays of February and August, and the other the dates given above. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, pp. 37, 50.

<sup>56</sup> *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 162.

<sup>57</sup> *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 668.

<sup>58</sup> Brunswick was omitted from the first law of 1777, but was included in the second act of that year. *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 50.

<sup>59</sup> Moore was formed from Cumberland in 1784. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 644. When Moore was formed in the spring of 1784 the name of Cumberland was changed to Fayette County, but the law was changed at the next session of the General Assembly and Cumberland regained its name. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, pp. 644, 702.

<sup>60</sup> Robeson was formed from Bladen in 1787. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 838.

<sup>61</sup> Sampson was formed from Duplin in 1784. *S. R.*, Vol. 24, p. 642.

<sup>62</sup> Richmond was in the Salisbury District prior to 1787. See Salisbury District above.

<sup>63</sup> The eight districts of the superior court of law and court of equity were divided into two ridings in 1790, each of which was composed of four districts. The law provided for four judges, two for each riding. Previous to this law, there were three judges, except the judge of the Mero District, which ceased to be a part of North Carolina when North Carolina ceded her western lands to the United States government in 1790. Each court was to continue thirteen days exclusive of Sunday, if the cases required that time. Also a Solicitor General was provided for who should ride one circuit, while the Attorney General should ride the other. *S. R.*, Vol. 25, pp. 65, 66, 67.

<sup>64</sup> Washington County was formed from Tyrrell in 1799, and remained in the same district. *Laws of North Carolina, 1799*, Chs. 36, 37.

<sup>65</sup> Dobbs County was abolished in 1791, and Lenoir and Glasgow counties were formed from it. They remained in the same district. *Laws of North Carolina*, Ch. 47. Glasgow was changed to Greene in 1799. *Laws of North Carolina, 1799*, Ch. 39.

WILMINGTON DISTRICT. *Wilmington*. 1st days of March and September.

Bladen, Brunswick, Duplin, New Hanover, and Onslow.

#### WESTERN RIDING

MORGAN DISTRICT. *Morgan[ton]*. 1st days of March and September. Ashe,<sup>66</sup> Buncombe,<sup>67</sup> Burke, Lincoln, Rutherford, and Wilkes.

SALISBURY DISTRICT. *Salisbury*. 19th days of March and September. Anson, Cabarrus,<sup>68</sup> Guilford, Iredell, Mecklenburg, Montgomery, Rockingham, Rowan, Stokes, and Surry.

HILLSBORO DISTRICT. *Hillsboro*. 6th days of April and October. Caswell, Chatham, Granville, Orange, Person,<sup>69</sup> Randolph, and Wake.

FAYETTEVILLE DISTRICT. *Fayetteville*. 23rd days of April and October. Cumberland, Moore, Richmond, Robeson, and Sampson.

#### JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1806<sup>70</sup>

FIRST CIRCUIT—Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell, Washington.

SECOND CIRCUIT—Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Duplin, Greene, Hyde, Jones, Lenoir, Onslow, Wayne.

THIRD CIRCUIT—Edgecombe, Franklin, Halifax, Johnston, Martin, Nash, Northampton, Pitt, Wake, Warren.

FOURTH CIRCUIT—Caswell, Chatham, Davidson,<sup>71</sup> Granville, Guilford, Orange, Person, Randolph, Rockingham, Rowan, Stokes.

FIFTH CIRCUIT—Anson, Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus,<sup>72</sup> Cumberland, Montgomery, Moore, New Hanover, Richmond, Robeson, Sampson.

<sup>66</sup> Ashe County was formed from Wilkes in 1799, and remained in the same district. *Laws of North Carolina, 1799*, Chs. 36, 37.

<sup>67</sup> Buncombe County was formed from Burke and Rutherford in 1791, and remained in the same district. *Laws of North Carolina, 1791*, Ch. 52.

<sup>68</sup> Cabarrus was formed from Mecklenburg in 1792. It remained in the Salisbury district. *Laws of North Carolina, 1792*, Ch. 21.

<sup>69</sup> Person was formed from Caswell in 1791 and remained in same district. *Laws of North Carolina, 1791*, Ch. 53; 1792, Ch. 50.

<sup>70</sup> This law provided that a superior court of law and equity should be held in each county, with the counties placed in circuits as indicated. It also provided for the rotation of judges; for each court to be held for six days; for two additional judges; for four additional solicitors; and for cases pending in the existing courts to be transferred to the counties. *Laws of North Carolina*, Ch. I. Another act provided that David Stone should hold court in First Circuit, John Louis Taylor in the second, John Hall the third, Spruce Macay in the fourth, Samuel Lowrie, the fifth, and Francis Lock in the sixth. *Laws of North Carolina, 1806*, Ch. II.

<sup>71</sup> Davidson County was formed from Rowan in 1822, but there was no mention of a superior court in this act. *Laws of North Carolina, 1822*, Chs. 47, 48. In 1823 an act was passed establishing a superior court. *Laws of North Carolina, 1823*, Ch. 2.

<sup>72</sup> Columbus County was formed from Brunswick and Bladen in 1808, but did not have a superior court until 1816, when the General Assembly authorized a court. *Laws of North Carolina, 1808*, Ch. I; *Laws of North Carolina* revised by Henry Potter, J. L. Taylor and Bart Yancey, pp. 1129, 1132, 1361.

SIXTH CIRCUIT—Ashe, Buncombe, Burke, Cabarrus, Davie,<sup>73</sup> Haywood,<sup>74</sup> Iredell, Lincoln, Macon,<sup>75</sup> Mecklenburg, Rutherford, Surry, Wilkes, Yancey.<sup>76</sup>

### JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1837<sup>77</sup>

FIRST CIRCUIT—Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell, Washington.

SECOND CIRCUIT—Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Duplin, Greene, Hyde, Jones, Lenoir, Onslow, Wayne.

THIRD CIRCUIT—Edgecombe, Franklin, Halifax, Johnston, Martin, Nash, Northampton, Pitt, Wake, Warren.

FOURTH CIRCUIT—Alamance,<sup>78</sup> Caswell, Chatham, Davidson, Forsyth,<sup>79</sup> Granville, Guilford, Orange, Person, Randolph, Rockingham, Stokes.

FIFTH CIRCUIT—Anson, Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Cumberland, Montgomery, Moore, New Hanover, Richmond, Robeson, Sampson, Stanly.<sup>80</sup>

SIXTH CIRCUIT—Alexander,<sup>81</sup> Ashe, Cabarrus, Catawba,<sup>82</sup> Davie, Gaston,<sup>83</sup> Iredell, Union,<sup>84</sup> Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Rowan, Surry, Wilkes, Yadkin.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Davie County was formed from Rowan in 1836. The act provided that it remain under the jurisdiction of Rowan superior court until a court could be established. *Laws of North Carolina*, Chs. 4, 5.

<sup>74</sup> Haywood County was formed from Buncombe in 1808. *Laws of North Carolina, 1808*, Ch. I. It was under the jurisdiction of Buncombe superior court until 1813, when it was given a superior court. *Ibid.*, 1284.

<sup>75</sup> Macon was formed from Haywood in 1828. *Laws of North Carolina, 1828*, Chs. 50, 51. It remained under Haywood superior court jurisdiction until 1831, when a superior court was established. *Laws of North Carolina, 1830-31*, Ch. 18.

<sup>76</sup> Yancey County was formed from Burke and Buncombe in 1833 and remained under the jurisdiction of Buncombe. *Laws of North Carolina, 1832-33*, Chs. 83, 84, 85. It was given a superior court in 1834. *Laws of North Carolina, 1833-34*, Ch. 14.

<sup>77</sup> *Laws of North Carolina, 1836-37*. Revised Statutes No. XC, p. 51. The law provided for one additional judge and one additional solicitor. *Laws of North Carolina, 1836-37*, Ch. 13.

<sup>78</sup> Alamance County was formed from Orange in 1849. It was given a superior court and remained in the Fourth Circuit. *Laws of North Carolina, 1848-49*, Chs. 14, 15.

<sup>79</sup> Forsyth County was formed from Stokes in 1849. It was given a superior court and remained in the Fourth Circuit. *Laws of North Carolina, 1848-49*, Chs. 23, 24.

<sup>80</sup> Stanly County was formed from Montgomery in 1841. A superior court was authorized and it was placed in the Fifth Circuit. *Laws of North Carolina, 1840-41*, Chs. 13, 14.

<sup>81</sup> Alexander County was formed from Iredell, Wilkes, and Caldwell in 1847. It was given a superior court and remained in the Sixth Circuit. *Laws of North Carolina, 1846-1847*, Chs. 22, 23.

<sup>82</sup> Catawba County was formed from Lincoln in 1842. It remained under the jurisdiction of Lincoln superior court until a superior court could be established in Catawba. *Laws of North Carolina, 1842-43*, Chs. 8, 9.

<sup>83</sup> Gaston County was formed from Lincoln in 1846. A superior court was authorized and it remained in the Sixth Circuit. *Laws of North Carolina, 1846-47*, Chs. 24, 25.

<sup>84</sup> Union County was formed from Anson and Mecklenburg in 1842. A superior court authorized and attached to the Sixth Circuit. *Laws of North Carolina, 1842-43*, Chs. 12, 13.

<sup>85</sup> Yadkin was formed from Surry in 1850. A superior court was authorized and it was placed in the Sixth Circuit. *Laws of North Carolina, 1850-51*, Chs. 40, 41.

SEVENTH CIRCUIT—Buncombe, Burke, Caldwell,<sup>86</sup> Cherokee,<sup>87</sup> Cleveland,<sup>88</sup> Haywood, Henderson,<sup>89</sup> Jackson,<sup>90</sup> McDowell,<sup>91</sup> Macon, Madison,<sup>92</sup> Rutherford, Watauga,<sup>93</sup> Yancey.

#### JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1854<sup>94</sup>

FIRST CIRCUIT—Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell, Washington.

SECOND CIRCUIT—Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Duplin, Greene, Hyde, Jones, Lenoir, Onslow, Wayne, Wilson.<sup>95</sup>

THIRD CIRCUIT—Edgecombe, Franklin, Halifax, Johnston, Martin, Nash, Northampton, Pitt, Wake, Warren.

FOURTH CIRCUIT—Alamance, Caswell, Chatham, Davidson, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Person, Randolph, Rockingham, Stokes.

FIFTH CIRCUIT—Anson, Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Cumberland, Harnett,<sup>96</sup> Montgomery, Moore, New Hanover, Richmond, Robeson, Sampson, Stanly.

SIXTH CIRCUIT—Alexander, Alleghany,<sup>97</sup> Ashe, Cabarrus, Catawba, Davie, Gaston, Iredell, Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Rowan, Surry, Union, Wilkes, Yadkin.

<sup>86</sup> Caldwell County was formed from Burke and Wilkes in 1841. The superior court jurisdiction remained with Burke and Wilkes until a court could be established. *Laws of North Carolina, 1840-41*, Chs. 11, 12. The superior court was established in 1843. *Laws of North Carolina, 1842-43*, Ch. 14.

<sup>87</sup> Cherokee County was formed from Macon in 1839. The superior court jurisdiction remained with Macon. *Laws of North Carolina, 1838-39*, Chs. 10, 11. A superior court was established in 1841. *Laws of North Carolina, 1840-41*, Ch. 19.

<sup>88</sup> Cleveland County was formed from Rutherford and Lincoln in 1841. *Laws of North Carolina, 1840-41*, Chs. 9, 10.

<sup>89</sup> Henderson County was formed from Buncombe in 1838. Remained under the jurisdiction of Buncombe until a superior court could be established. *Laws of North Carolina, 1838-39*, Chs. 12, 13. A superior court was established in 1841. *Laws of North Carolina, 1840-41*, Ch. 19.

<sup>90</sup> Jackson County was formed from Haywood and Macon 1851. *Laws of North Carolina, 1850-51*, Chs. 38, 39. No superior court established at that time. A superior court was established in 1852. *Laws of North Carolina, 1852*, Ch. 44.

<sup>91</sup> McDowell County was formed from Rutherford and Burke in 1842. The superior court jurisdiction remained with Rutherford and Burke until a court could be established for McDowell. *Laws of North Carolina, 1842-43*, Chs. 10, 11. A superior court was established in 1845. *Laws of North Carolina, 1844-45*, Ch. 6.

<sup>92</sup> Madison County was formed from Buncombe and Yancey in 1851. *Laws of North Carolina, 1850-51*, Chs. 36, 37.

<sup>93</sup> Watauga County was formed from Ashe, Wilkes, Caldwell, and Yancey in 1849. All actions were to be sent to Ashe or Wilkes Superior Court. *Laws of North Carolina, 1848-49*, Chs. 25, 26. A superior court was established in 1852. *Laws of North Carolina, 1852*, Ch. 44.

<sup>94</sup> Revised Code of North Carolina Enacted by the General Assembly at the Session of 1854. Prepared by Bartholomew F. Moore and Asa Biggs, pp. 155, 156, 157, 158, 159; *Laws of North Carolina, 1854-55*, Ch. 15.

<sup>95</sup> Wilson County was formed from Nash, Johnston, Wayne, and Edgecombe in 1855. *Laws of North Carolina, 1855*, Chs. 12, 13.

<sup>96</sup> Harnett County was formed from Cumberland in 1855, but no mention was made in the act relative to establishing a superior court. *Laws of North Carolina, 1855*, Chs. 8, 9. In 1859 a superior court was established. *Laws of North Carolina, 1859*, Ch. 8.

<sup>97</sup> Alleghany County was formed from Ashe in 1859, but the superior court of Ashe had jurisdiction over Alleghany. *Laws of North Carolina, 1858-59*, Chs. 3, 4. A superior court was established in 1862. *Laws of North Carolina, 1862-63*, Ch. 9.

SEVENTH CIRCUIT—Buncombe, Burke, Caldwell, Cherokee, Clay,<sup>98</sup> Cleveland, Haywood, Henderson, Jackson, McDowell, Macon, Madison, Mitchell,<sup>99</sup> Polk, Rutherford, Transylvania,<sup>100</sup> Watauga, Yancey.

JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1862<sup>101</sup>

FIRST CIRCUIT—Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell, Washington.

SECOND CIRCUIT—Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Duplin, Greene, Hyde, Jones, Lenoir, Onslow, Wayne, Wilson.

THIRD CIRCUIT—Edgecombe, Franklin, Halifax, Johnston, Martin, Nash, Northampton, Pitt, Wake, Warren.

FOURTH CIRCUIT—Alamance, Caswell, Chatham, Davidson, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Person, Randolph, Rockingham, Stokes.

FIFTH CIRCUIT—Anson, Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Cumberland, Harnett, Montgomery, Moore, New Hanover, Richmond, Robeson, Sampson, Stanly.

SIXTH CIRCUIT—Alexander, Alleghany, Ashe, Cabarrus, Davie, Iredell, Mecklenburg, Rowan, Surry, Union, Wilkes, Yadkin.

SEVENTH CIRCUIT—Burke, Caldwell, Catawba, Cleveland, Gaston, Lincoln, McDowell, Mitchell, Polk, Rutherford, Watauga.

EIGHTH CIRCUIT—Buncombe, Cherokee, Clay, Haywood, Henderson, Jackson, Macon, Madison, Transylvania, Yancey.

JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1868<sup>102</sup>

FIRST DISTRICT—Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Pasquotank, Perquimans.

SECOND DISTRICT—Beaufort, Edgecombe, Hyde, Martin, Pitt, Tyrrell, Washington.

THIRD DISTRICT—Carteret, Craven, Greene, Jones, Lenoir, Onslow, Wayne, Wilson.

<sup>98</sup> Clay County was formed from Cherokee in 1860, but the superior court of Cherokee had jurisdiction over Clay until a court could be established. *Laws of North Carolina, 1860*, Chs. 6 and 7.

<sup>99</sup> Mitchell County was formed from Yancey, Watauga, Caldwell, Burke, and McDowell in 1861, but the superior courts of the several counties had jurisdiction over the territory embraced in Mitchell until a superior court could be established. *Laws of North Carolina, 1861*, Chs. 8, 9.

<sup>100</sup> Transylvania County was formed from Henderson in 1861. *Laws of North Carolina, 1860-61*, Chs. 10 and 11.

<sup>101</sup> *Laws of North Carolina, 1862-63*, Chs. 7, 8, 9. This law provided for the election of one judge, making 8 instead of 7. It also provided that the solicitor of the Seventh Circuit should be the solicitor in the Eighth Circuit, and a new solicitor elected for the Seventh.

<sup>102</sup> Constitution of North Carolina, 1868, Article IV, Secs. 12, 13, in *Public Laws of the State of North Carolina, 1868-69*, pp. 19, 20, 21.

FOURTH DISTRICT—Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Duplin, New Hanover, Robeson, Sampson.

FIFTH DISTRICT—Anson, Cumberland, Harnett, Montgomery, Moore, Richmond, Stanly, Union.

SIXTH DISTRICT—Franklin, Granville, Halifax, Johnston, Nash, Northampton, Wake, Warren.

SEVENTH DISTRICT—Alamance, Caswell, Chatham, Guilford, Orange, Person, Randolph, Rockingham.

EIGHTH DISTRICT—Davidson, Davie, Forsyth, Rowan, Stokes, Surry, Yadkin.

NINTH DISTRICT—Cabarrus, Catawba, Cleveland, Gaston, Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Polk, Rutherford.

TENTH DISTRICT—Alexander, Burke, Caldwell, Iredell, McDowell, Wilkes.

ELEVENTH DISTRICT—Alleghany, Ashe, Buncombe, Madison, Mitchell, Watauga, Yancey.

TWELFTH DISTRICT—Cherokee, Clay, Haywood, Henderson, Jackson, Macon, Transylvania.

#### JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1883<sup>103</sup>

FIRST DISTRICT—Beaufort, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Dare, Gates, Hertford, Hyde, Martin, Pamlico, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell, Washington.

SECOND DISTRICT—Bertie, Craven, Edgecombe, Halifax, Northampton, Wake, Warren.

THIRD DISTRICT—Carteret, Duplin, Greene, Jones, Lenoir, Nash, New Hanover, Onslow, Pender, Pitt, Sampson, Wayne, Wilson.

FOURTH DISTRICT—Anson, Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Cumberland, Harnett, Johnston, Moore, Richmond, Robeson.

FIFTH DISTRICT—Alamance, Caswell, Chatham, Durham, Franklin, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Person, Randolph, Rockingham, Vance.

SIXTH DISTRICT—Cabarrus, Cleveland, Gaston, Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Montgomery, Polk, Rutherford, Stanly, Union.

SEVENTH DISTRICT—Alleghany, Davidson, Davie, Forsyth, Rowan, Stokes, Surry, Wilkes, Yadkin.

<sup>103</sup> *The Code of North Carolina enacted March 2, 1883.* Prepared by William T. Dortch, John Manning, and John S. Henderson, Vol. I, pp. 367-373.

EIGHTH DISTRICT—Alexander, Ashe, Burke, Caldwell, Catawba, Iredell, McDowell, Mitchell, Watauga, Yancey.

NINTH DISTRICT—Buncombe, Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Henderson, Jackson, Macon, Madison, Swain, Transylvania.

#### JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1885<sup>104</sup>

FIRST DISTRICT—Beaufort, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Dare, Gates, Hertford, Hyde, Pamlico, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell, Washington.

SECOND DISTRICT—Bertie, Craven, Edgecombe, Halifax, Northampton, Warren.

THIRD DISTRICT—Franklin, Greene, Martin, Nash, Pitt, Vance, Wilson.

FOURTH DISTRICT—Harnett, Johnston, Wake, Wayne.

FIFTH DISTRICT—Alamance, Caswell, Chatham, Durham, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Person.

SIXTH DISTRICT—Carteret, Duplin, Jones, Lenoir, New Hanover, Onslow, Pender, Sampson.

SEVENTH DISTRICT—Anson, Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Cumberland, Moore, Richmond, Robeson, Scotland.<sup>105</sup>

EIGHTH DISTRICT—Cabarrus, Davidson, Iredell, Montgomery, Randolph, Rowan, Stanly.

NINTH DISTRICT—Alleghany, Davie, Forsyth, Rockingham, Stokes, Surry, Wilkes, Yadkin.

TENTH DISTRICT—Ashe, Burke, Caldwell, Henderson, McDowell, Mitchell, Watauga, Yancey.

ELEVENTH DISTRICT—Alexander, Catawba, Cleveland, Gaston, Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Polk, Rutherford, Union.

TWELFTH DISTRICT—Buncombe, Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Jackson, Macon, Madison, Swain, Transylvania.

#### JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1901<sup>106</sup>

FIRST DISTRICT—Beaufort, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Dare, Gates, Hyde, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell, Washington.

SECOND DISTRICT—Bertie, Halifax, Hertford, Northampton, Warren.

THIRD DISTRICT—Carteret, Craven, Greene, Jones, Pamlico, Pitt.

FOURTH DISTRICT—Edgecombe, Franklin, Martin, Nash, Vance, Wilson.

<sup>104</sup> *Laws of North Carolina, 1885, Chs. 60, 180.*

<sup>105</sup> Scotland County was formed from Richmond in 1899, and a superior court was authorized. *Laws of North Carolina, 1899, Ch. 127.*

<sup>106</sup> *Laws of North Carolina, 1901, Ch. 28.*

FIFTH DISTRICT—Duplin, Lenoir, New Hanover, Onslow, Pender, Sampson.

SIXTH DISTRICT—Harnett, Johnston, Wake, Wayne.

SEVENTH DISTRICT—Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Cumberland, Hoke,<sup>107</sup> Robeson.

EIGHTH DISTRICT—Anson, Chatham, Lee,<sup>108</sup> Moore, Richmond, Scotland, Union.

NINTH DISTRICT—Alamance, Durham, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Person.

TENTH DISTRICT—Davidson, Davie, Iredell, Montgomery, Randolph, Rowan, Stanly, Yadkin.

ELEVENTH DISTRICT—Alleghany, Caswell, Forsyth, Rockingham, Stokes, Surry, Wilkes.

TWELFTH DISTRICT—Cabarrus, Cleveland, Gaston, Lincoln, Mecklenburg.

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT—Alexander, Ashe, Avery,<sup>109</sup> Caldwell, Catawba, Mitchell, Watauga.

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT—Burke, Henderson, McDowell, Polk, Rutherford, Yancey.

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT—Buncombe, Madison, Transylvania.

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT—Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Jackson, Macon, Swain.

#### JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN 1913<sup>110</sup>

FIRST DISTRICT—Beaufort, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Dare, Gates, Hyde, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell.

SECOND DISTRICT—Edgecombe, Martin, Nash, Washington, Wilson.

THIRD DISTRICT—Bertie, Halifax, Hertford, Northampton, Vance, Warren.

FOURTH DISTRICT—Chatham, Harnett, Johnston, Lee, Wayne.

FIFTH DISTRICT—Carteret, Craven, Greene,<sup>111</sup> Jones, Pamlico, Pitt.

SIXTH DISTRICT—Duplin, Lenoir, Onslow, Sampson.

SEVENTH DISTRICT—Franklin, Wake.

<sup>107</sup> Hoke County was formed from Cumberland and Robeson in 1911. *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1911*, Ch. 24.

<sup>108</sup> Lee County was formed from Chatham and Moore in 1907. *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1907*, Ch. 624.

<sup>109</sup> Avery County was formed from Mitchell, Watauga, and Caldwell in 1911. *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1911*, Ch. 33.

<sup>110</sup> *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1913*, Chs. 63, 196.

<sup>111</sup> Greene was listed in the Sixth District in Ch. 63, but in the Fifth District in Ch. 196. *Ibid.*

EIGHTH DISTRICT—Brunswick, Columbus, New Hanover, Pender.

NINTH DISTRICT—Bladen, Cumberland, Hoke, Robeson.

TENTH DISTRICT—Alamance, Durham, Granville, Orange, Person.

ELEVENTH DISTRICT—Alleghany, Ashe, Caswell, Forsyth, Rockingham, Surry.

TWELFTH DISTRICT—Davidson, Guilford, Stokes.

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT—Anson, Moore, Richmond, Scotland, Stanly, Union.

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT—Gaston, Mecklenburg.

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT—Cabarrus, Davie, Iredell, Montgomery, Randolph, Rowan.

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT—Burke, Caldwell, Cleveland, Lincoln, Polk.

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT—Alexander, Avery, Catawba, Mitchell, Watauga, Wilkes, Yadkin.

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT—Henderson, McDowell, Rutherford, Transylvania, Yancey.

NINETEENTH DISTRICT—Buncombe, Madison.

TWENTIETH DISTRICT—Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Jackson, Macon, Swain.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The ANTISLAVERY IMPULSE, 1830-1844.* By Gilbert Hobbs Barnes. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. Copyright, 1933. Pp. ix, 298. \$3.50.)

The great leader of the antislavery movement was not Garrison, but Theodore Dwight Weld; the center of the agitation was not New England, but the West; the chief impulse from beginning to end was not economic, but moral and religious. These are some of Professor Barnes's novel and interesting conclusions.

For a century abolitionists and their descendants have told and retold their own version of the story until it has come to be generally accepted throughout the country. Their account, however, has been far from adequate. They have been entirely too sympathetic with the reformers; they have failed to examine many of the essential materials; they have been guilty of other grave sins, both of omission and of commission. Now at last appears a treatment which is thorough, well proportioned, and above all impartial.

The story, as told by Professor Barnes, is indeed a fascinating one. About 1830, the Presbyterian hell-fire preacher, Charles Grandison Finney, and his associates (Baptist and Methodist as well as Presbyterian) conducted a series of tremendous revival meetings in Ohio, western New York, and western Pennsylvania. Among Finney's converts was young Theodore Dwight Weld, who left his studies at Hamilton College, near Utica, New York, to follow the paths of the ministry and, as it turned out, to become the leading spirit of the antislavery agitation. Finney and Weld soon came into contact with Arthur and Lewis Tappan, wealthy New York merchants and leaders in reform of various types. Arthur Tappan, wishing to establish a seminary in the West, hit upon impecunious Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, undertook to support the school, and persuaded Lyman Beecher to become its president. Meanwhile serious young men from various parts of the West and Southwest flocked Lane-ward to prepare for the ministry.

In 1834 occurred the famous "Lane debate," when the students for eighteen days prayerfully considered the question, "What is our duty to the Negro race?" Really, it was a debate in name

only, and the result was that every single student was converted to the cause of abolition. But the Lane trustees were not at all pleased with what the students had done, and ordered their abolitionist society to disband, whereupon most of the students withdrew from the school and before long went to Oberlin, newly founded co-educational, co-racial college to which Arthur Tappan was induced to render financial aid. From Oberlin, their training completed, they set out touring the North, preaching the Gospel and making converts to the cause of abolition. Of all these evangelists, Weld, who had been the leading student both at Lane and at Oberlin, was the most influential. Utterly fearless, in spite of the bitterest opposition, he went through the same region where Finney had conducted his revivals and won over town after town. Weld converted to the cause a number of men, such as Edwin M. Stanton and Joshua Giddings, who later were to gain national prominence.

As time passed, the American Anti-Slavery Society came to rely less and less upon printed propaganda and more and more upon the spoken word. In 1836 the leaders decided to pick out a small group of devoted men to carry on the work, and Weld was asked to choose them. He did so, gave them a brief training, and sent them forth—"the Seventy"—to concentrate their efforts in the same area in which he and Finney had already laid the foundation.

In the late thirties the center of interest shifted to the hall of the House of Representatives in Washington, where the petition controversy was at its height. We have been taught to think of the well-known House gag rule as an infringement upon a constitutional guarantee, but Professor Barnes, after a careful analysis, reaches the conclusion that only by such a method could the House protect itself from the tidal wave of petitions. Direction of the petition campaign was assumed by no less a person than John Quincy Adams, who, embittered by his experiences as President, had changed from an ardent nationalist to a violent sectionalist. Adams talked much about freedom of speech and of petition, but in reality he was interested mainly in abolition. To help carry on the good work Adams, Giddings, and their associates asked Weld to come to Washington. Weld came, and with

the others engineered one of the most effective lobbies in the history of Congress. Adams became bolder and bolder, but an effort of the Whig leaders to censure him failed dismally. A little later Giddings, when actually censured by vote of the House, resigned his seat and ran for reëlection in his district in the Western Reserve, the heart of the region where Finney, Weld, and "the Seventy" had worked. He was overwhelmingly victorious, and this marked a turning point in the history of the campaign. The insurgent bloc in Congress was certain to grow, and "inevitably the time must come when this broadening impulse would escape its party bounds and divide the nation. The victory of insurgency was thus . . . the nucleus of a new movement in national affairs." As time passed, the campaign more and more broadened out into a Northern sectional crusade against the South. In 1860 the antislavery host "gave Abraham Lincoln the votes which made him President."

A few flaws may be noted. The author, perhaps taking it for granted that their part in the agitation is already well known, pays too little attention to the rôle of certain prominent figures. The style, while nearly always technically correct, is too condensed; the work, already interesting, could have been made considerably more so had the writer not been so intent on the process of distillation. There is a good bit of jumping about from one character and place to another, although admittedly the problem of carrying along at once several interweaving threads is a difficult one.

Fundamentally, however, the study is of great significance. He who would acquire a full knowledge of the Middle Period will be compelled to read it; in its light much of the history of these years will have to be rewritten.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

C. C. CRITTENDEN.

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PIONEERING FOR PEACE, by W. Freeman Galpin. (Syracuse: The Bardeen Press. 1933. Pp. ix, 233.)

Professor Galpin's earlier work on monographs pertaining to local organizations has acquainted him thoroughly with the nature and value of source materials bearing on the development of

the peace ideal. The present work is a general treatise on the subject. Writing under the auspices of the School of Citizenship and Public Relations of Syracuse University, the author attempts, as he states in his preface, "to investigate the genesis and growth of the peace crusade [in America] as a problem of historical and social interest." The work covers the period down to the Mexican War.

Two factors are mentioned as having given rise to the peace movement in America: the European influences and the "much more complicated" American contributions. A sketchy account of the European influences is given in the first chapter. The author then gives a careful and detailed account of peace activities in various states and localities, beginning with the work in New York and Massachusetts. He informs us that "A steady flow of anti-war literature, sermons, prayers and speeches" appeared after 1815 in various sections of the country. An account of the appearance of a fanatical non-resistance faction, whose advocacy of complete submission to national injuries of any description caused a split in the peace forces, is given fairly and impartially. In fact, the whole treatise is factual rather than interpretative.

The writer does not give chief credit for the origin of the peace movement in America to Quakers, as do other writers on the subject of peace. To cite a few instances, Moritzen (*The Peace Movement of America*, pp. 210-211) says they "laid the foundation for the movement"; and Beales (*The History of Peace*, chap. III, cited by the author) says it "was largely Quaker in origin." (Cf. Bassett, *The Lost Fruits of Waterloo*, pp. 26, 32.) Some students of the subject will probably take issue with Professor Galpin when he implies that Quaker activities were simply one among the causes of the rise of a demand for the abolition of the war system.

An interesting account is given of the organization of the American Peace Society in 1828 (chap. V) and its effective work after the withdrawal of the "bothersome opposition" (p. 152) in the persons of the non-resisters (chap. VIII). But the non-resistance movement died of its own weakness by 1843, leaving the field open to the saner element.

The motives behind the peace movement, it is stated, were primarily religious, "though economic, political, and social forces were not overlooked" (p. 210). Those particularly active in spreading the view that war is unchristian were the clergy and members of the Unitarian, Quaker, Congregational, Baptist, and Methodist groups, Catholics and Anglicans lending little assistance. The movement is shown as having faced the opposition of military elements, just as it does today. These groups were ready enough to give lip service to the cause of peace, but invariably advanced the familiar argument that the world is not ready for organized peace; hence, military preparedness must continue for the present. Opposition from the military element was not vociferous, however, because they regarded the peace movement as weak and ineffective, constituting no real threat to their profession. The conservative press, Congressional debates, and American diplomacy echoed the same note.

Interested citizens outside the peace organizations must have become disgusted with the factious bickerings and political maneuvering in the peace conventions (pp. 126-7). The prestige of the organizations must have suffered greatly as a result of this internal strife. Not until the radicals were weeded out of the original peace groups and had organized the non-resistance movement were the moderate advocates of peace able to carry on unmolested.

The peace movement in America accomplished a great deal, we are told, in spite of all opposition and regardless of tactical blunders of its advocates. Organized peace efforts "had come to stay," and "these men built so wisely and so well that the future was to see further growth and development" (p. 213). State organizations born in the early period, such as that of Rhode Island, are still alive and active. We might add here that the American Peace Society of today, established in 1828, is exercising wide influence through its constant activities and its appeal to the reading public through the medium of its quarterly publication, *World Affairs*. Professor Galpin tells us that the ideas of disarmament, arbitration, codification of international law, a world court, and a Congress of Nations were so ably argued and presented that the Government recognized them, though it did

little to advance their realization. Even elementary school books emphasized the peace ideal. As the author expresses it, "The peace banner . . . was not merely on high; it was actually waving and stirring a number of men and women to think, and some to act in favor of a world order that would know of no international war" (p. 213). As a result, individuals without number are today engaged in the peace crusade and the United States directly or indirectly participates in a "Congress of Nations" and a World Court.

Without intending to detract from the earnest efforts of the early crusaders for peace, one may raise the question, if their accomplishments were great, why could the Mexican War not have been forestalled through their influence; why could the fratricidal war of the sixties not have been averted; and why could the imperialistic spirit of the close of the century not have been suppressed? Furthermore, the disgraceful treatment accorded the Indian tribes all through the period covered in this treatise should have felt more of the effects of a movement as strong as that pictured to us here. It is evident that, outside of New England where economic motives appear to have been stronger than the author thinks, organized efforts for peace were not successful. The latter statement is conceded in the earlier part of his book, but the point seems to be somewhat weakened in his conclusion.

With the exception of a few passages, the monograph is quite well written. For example, the expression, "Grimke was invited to speak before a peace meeting in New Haven during the summer of 1832, and Grimke accepted" (p. 88), might be improved upon in construction. Also, the expression, "peace-like philosophy" of the Unitarians (p. 11), might be given better form. However, the work is a scholarly and valuable contribution to the subject. The author has examined an enormous amount of manuscript material and has given it scientific treatment. His extensive bibliography and numerous footnotes will constitute a valuable aid to all interested students of the peace movement. After reading this work, one only hopes that Professor Galpin will find time to bring the study down to the present time.

CAMPBELL COLLEGE.

M. L. SKAGGS.

THE PROPHET OF ZION-PARNASSUS: SAMUEL EUSEBIUS MCCORKLE. By James F. Hurley and Julia Goode Eagan. (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication. 1934. Pp. 121. \$1.00.)

Had Samuel Eusebius McCorkle chosen to spend his life in a more populous region, the world would long ago have known about him; but since he cast his lot with the frontier people of North Carolina, a region then sparsely settled, he has never received the recognition to which he is entitled. To the authors of this book great credit is due for bringing to the attention of the public this outstanding Presbyterian preacher and educator of the eighteenth century. Besides having a great theme, the book is interesting and informative, but it is not a critical history.

The biography proper does not begin until page 49. With only incidental mention of Mr. McCorkle and his family, the preceding pages tell of the Scotch-Irish migration. Pages 52 to 66 discuss the College of New Jersey about the time young McCorkle attended it, and include a fragment from a religious diary he kept near the close of his college days. The biography then proceeds to the close of the book with only slight digressions to such closely related topics as the use of tokens for admission to the communion table and the revival movement in the early part of the nineteenth century. Pages 113 to 121 include a sort of appendix and the bibliography.

With respect to the Scotch-Irish, the account presented here is the usual one. Some interesting sidelights upon the immigration to America are found in Michael J. O'Brien's *A Hidden Phase of American History*, which sets forth the Irish side of the question. No doubt both accounts have merit and should be used to supplement each other.

A number of errors have found their way into the book. On pages 17, 23, and 24, the author of *The Scotch-Irish in America* should be Henry Jones Ford, not Henry James Ford. On p. 18, the authors must have meant Scotch instead of Irish Undertakers. The statements on pp. 83-84 that Mr. McCorkle opened his classical school eight years after he became pastor of Thyatira Church, and that he conducted a teacher-training department in connection with it, though they have been frequently repeated, are almost certainly incorrect. The earliest definite information

about Zion-Parnassus is found in 1794, and no contemporary evidence has been found up to the present to prove that even then was there a normal department associated with it.

Waightstill Avery did not graduate from Princeton College in 1789 (p. 93), but in 1766. William R. Davies (p. 98) should of course be William R. Davie. December 4, 1792 (p. 103), was not two months after the laying of the cornerstone of "Old East," which occurred October 12, 1793 (p. 99). The curriculum (pp. 104-5) is not that prepared by the committee appointed in 1792 (p. 103), but a later one submitted by Dr. McCorkle in 1795. Contrary to the statement on p. 106, Dr. McCorkle's name was one of those placed in nomination for the position of first presiding professor. Dr. Ker did not continue long as presiding professor (p. 109). He resigned in July, 1796. Space is left to mention only one more error, the date of Dr. McCorkle's death was not June 21, 1811 (p. 110), but January 21, 1811.

Perhaps the chief fault of the book is its lack of unity. Not enough material is available to justify a book of this size about Dr. McCorkle, though the authors have failed to mention or adequately treat, among other subjects, his published sermons, his attendance upon Synod and General Assembly, his relations with schools other than Zion-Parnassus and the University of North Carolina, and with the Germans in and near Salisbury. Even with the addition of these matters, the book would still be small, if only historical facts concerning the McCorkle family were included.

A more satisfactory plan would include the lives of Caldwell, McCorkle, and Hall in one book. All three were graduates of the College of New Jersey, were for long periods pastors within Piedmont North Carolina, and were associated with classical schools of high grade. Moreover, their work is so interrelated that such a book would possess greater unity than the present one. It is to be hoped that in the future someone will undertake this task.

EUGENE D. OWEN.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

KINFOLKS: A GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD. Volume I. By William Curry Harlee. (New Orleans: Searcy & Pfaff, Ltd. 1934. Pp. xxxii, 968. Volumes I-III, \$10.00.)

*Kinfolks* is one of the most comprehensive genealogical projects ever undertaken in the South. Its content, method of treatment, and standard of scholarship give it enduring value as an historical reference book.

Colonel Harlee of the United States Marine Corps, with a staff of nine assistants, has worked intensively for four years on *Kinfolks* and has used the extensive research of other collaborators in presenting a genealogical and biographical record of the Harlee, Fulmore, Curry, Kemp, Robertson, Dickey, and Bethea families and their antecedents, descendants, and collateral relatives. The author traveled 60,000 miles, spent more than \$1,000 in postage alone, and visited hundreds of homes, cemeteries, courthouses, and state and federal record repositories in assembling the data concerning the 25,000 persons who appear in the work.

Two remaining volumes of this work are to appear soon, bringing the total number of pages to about 2,500. There will be about 250 pages of portraits and reproductions.

In a preface the author explains the plan, purpose, and arrangement of the work. Then follows a lengthy chapter in which are listed the counties, with date of their origin and the classes and locations of their records, of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. In each of these states Colonel Harlee conducted extensive research. Of North Carolina he states that "perhaps no State has more diligently collected its records or made them more available."

A chapter on Cemetery Records contains copies of hundreds of tombstone inscriptions in the South, arranged by states.

The remainder of the first volume contains the Harlee genealogy. Other families will be dealt with in the second and third volumes. The plan for designating relatives to show interrelationship is said by the author to be unique.

*Kinfolks* bears copious evidence of a more-than-usual care for accuracy and authenticity. Citations, copies, and photostats of

letters and documents are numerous. Many of the letters contain historical information of value to the student of Southern life. "Family tradition," that nebulous stuff of which too much Southern genealogy and so-called history has been written, has been used by the author only as a guide to the location of authentic records and only when found to be supported by the records. The author is not concerned with heraldic pretensions and fanciful lineages.

To the reviewer it seems that Colonel Harllee's extensive, intensive, and scientific research has placed Southern genealogists and historians in his debt for a work of unusual scope and excellence.

A. R. NEWSOME.

RALEIGH, N. C.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

The North Carolina Historical Commission receives requests for early numbers of the *North Carolina Manual*, *Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association*, the *North Carolina Booklet*, and the *North Carolina Day Program*. These publications are out of print. Anyone possessing duplicates is requested to send them to A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C. The supply thus accumulated will be used to serve the cause of North Carolina history by filling gaps in the collections of libraries and students.

Back numbers of the *North Carolina Historical Review* may be secured from the secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission at the regular price of \$2 per volume, or 50 cents per number.

The second annual meeting of the Archæological Society of North Carolina was held in Charlotte on October 6. After greetings from Mayor Wearn, President Wallace E. Caldwell spoke briefly on the purposes of the Society. Professor L. E. Hinkle of North Carolina State College presented a paper on "The Cherokee Language." Mrs. F. L. Siler of Franklin next read "A Short Story," first in English and then in Cherokee. Rev. Douglas L. Rights of Winston-Salem presented a paper on "Indian Occupation of the Charlotte area," during which he called attention to examples of present-day Catawba pottery on display on the speaker's table. He also introduced four Catawba Indians who came from their reservation in South Carolina to attend the meeting. Mr. James E. Steere of Charlotte next spoke on "Indian Sign Language," illustrating his remarks with numerous examples of sign talk. The morning session was concluded with a paper by Joffre L. Coe of Brevard College, on "Next Steps in our Archæological Survey."

At the luncheon session which followed, President Caldwell spoke informally on "Adventures in Archæology." The afternoon session was given over to business matters. The treasurer reported that the Society had been able to publish two bulletins

and to meet its running expenses with a deficit of six cents. Dr. Lingle of Davidson College made up the deficit immediately. The following officers were elected for 1935: president, Wallace E. Caldwell, Chapel Hill; vice president, Burnham S. Colburn, Biltmore; editor, Sanford Winston, Raleigh; secretary-treasurer, Guy B. Johnson, Chapel Hill. New members elected to the Executive Board were: James E. Steere, Charlotte; A. K. Faust, Salisbury.

The society holds two meetings a year, one in April or May and one in October. Dues are \$1.00 a year. Persons interested in joining the organization should write the secretary at Chapel Hill.

Mr. Clarence Griffin of Forest City, Rutherford County Historian, has compiled from county archives and published a 41-page booklet, *Public Officials of Rutherford County, N. C., 1779-1934, with Introductory Sketches of Origin and Development of Various County Offices, and Public and Local Laws Governing Same*. There are historical sketches and lists of the occupants of the following offices: county commissioner, public register, register of deeds, sheriff, clerk of the county court of pleas and quarter sessions, clerk of the superior court of law, clerk of the probate and superior court, clerk and master in equity, county trustee, treasurer, treasurer of public buildings, comptroller, coroner, surveyor, entry taker, standard keeper, county solicitor, judge of recorder's court, solicitor of recorder's court, county ranger, pension board, superintendent of common schools, county superintendent, and board of education. Also there are lists of Rutherford's citizens who have held State and Federal offices and have been delegates to conventions and members of the legislature. The booklet is a laborious and useful piece of research.

At the twenty-eighth annual convention of the North Carolina Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, held in Chapel Hill, October 9-11, Mrs. W. S. Bernard of Chapel Hill was elected president and Mrs. J. W. Parker of Farmville, historian.

*Songs of Iredell* is a 46-page booklet of poems by Sarah A. Heinzerling of Statesville, published in the fall by the Brady

Printing Company. Mrs. Heinzerling is also the authoress of *The Pines of Rockingham and Other Poems*.

The September-October, 1934, issue of *The North Carolina Poetry Review*, in addition to many poems by North Carolinians, contains a biographical sketch of the North Carolina poet, Edwin Wiley Fuller, by Edward A. Oldham. The *Review* announces that the poem "Night Voices" by Zoe Kincaid Brockman of Gastonia, published in the September, 1933, issue, was awarded the John Charles McNeill Memorial Prize of \$25 for the best poem published in the *Review* during the year ending with the June issue.

Prof. R. D. W. Connor, professor and head of the history department at the University, has been appointed by President Roosevelt as first Archivist of the United States. Professor Connor has assumed his new position and is formulating plans preparatory to occupying the new National Archives building in Washington which will be completed next summer. He had the official endorsement of the American Historical Association. Professor Connor has been connected with the North Carolina Historical Commission since its establishment in 1903—as secretary until 1921, when he went to the University as professor of history, and since 1924 as member of the editorial board of the *North Carolina Historical Review* and later as a member of the Commission. He will have complete charge of the National Archives—personnel, custody of federal archives, and administration. The position is one of great honor, power, responsibility, and opportunity for service. His success in organizing and developing archives work in North Carolina had much to do with his selection as the man to perform the same service for the nation.

Dr. A. R. Newsome was in Washington, September 26-29, at the request of the Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council to assist in the formulation of historical and archival survey projects to be carried on under various State

Emergency Relief Administrations with the encouragement of the FERA and the Historical Division of the National Park Service.

The August, 1934, issue of *Glimpses of the Past*, published by the Missouri Historical Society, reprints from the Greensborough *Patriot*, 1839-60, several letters of North Carolinians describing Missouri in the ante-bellum period.

Dr. Archibald Henderson is the author of a series of North Carolina historical articles appearing in the Sunday editions of the *News and Observer* and other daily newspapers. Articles appeared on the following subjects and dates: Nathaniel Rochester, October 7; George Washington and the Dismal Swamp Project, October 14; Maurice Moore, October 21; the North Carolina-Virginia Boundary Dispute, October 28; Daniel Boone, November 4; Elizabeth Maxwell Steele, November 11; the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, November 18; and Washington's Ownership of Land in North Carolina, November 25.

On September 20 occurred the annual pilgrimage to St. Thomas's Church at Bath, oldest church building in North Carolina, under the auspices of the Association for the Restoration and Preservation of St. Thomas's Church, Bath, of which Mr. A. B. Andrews of Raleigh is president. The service was in charge of Rev. Thomas C. Darst, Bishop of the Diocese of Eastern North Carolina, and the historical address was delivered by Rev. G. McLaren Brydon of Richmond.

A granite memorial to the women of the Confederacy, presented to Anson County by the late Gen. W. A. Smith, was dedicated on the courthouse grounds at Wadesboro on September 22. Mrs. John H. Anderson of Raleigh, historian general of the U. D. C., delivered the address.

The *Charlotte Observer* of November 7 contained a Junior League Section devoted chiefly to historical articles relating to Charlotte. The *Lenoir News-Topic* of October 25 issued an historical edition relating to Caldwell County.

Dr. A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, addressed the John Penn chapter, D. A. R., at Oxford on November 21 on the subject, "Some Popular Misconceptions of the American Revolution," and the Southeastern District of the North Carolina Education Association at Fayetteville on November 24, on the subject, "National Support of Public Education."

Mr. J. C. Sitterson of Kinston entered the employ of the Historical Commission on October 1 as Collector for the Hall of History. Col. Fred A. Olds, who has been Collector since 1914 and for many years before that date had been assembling historical relics, was compelled by failing health to enter a hospital last spring. Mr. Sitterson is a graduate of the University of North Carolina in the class of 1931. Since then he has taught one year and has held fellowships for two years in the graduate school at the University. He received the M.A. degree in history in 1932.

Noteworthy articles in recent periodicals are: Julian P. Boyd, "State and Local Historical Societies in the United States" (*American Historical Review*, October); Thomas Robson Hay, "John C. Calhoun and the Presidential Campaign of 1824: Some Unpublished Calhoun Letters, I" (*ibid.*); Theodore C. Blegen, "Some Aspects of Historical Work Under the New Deal" (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September); William A. Russ, Jr., "Registration and Disfranchisement under Radical Reconstruction" (*ibid.*); William A. Russ, Jr., "Radical Disfranchisement in Texas, 1867-70" (*Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, July); Mary F. Anderson, "The Restoration of Arlington Mansion" (*Americana*, October); David D. Wallace, "The Coming of the English to South Carolina, 1670" (*ibid.*); Louis A. Warren, "The Romance of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks" (*Indiana Magazine of History*, September); James A. Woodburn, "Benjamin Franklin and the Peace Treaty of 1783" (*ibid.*); Samuel M. Wilson, "Daniel Boone, 1734-1934" (*The Filson Club Quarterly*, October); Otto A. Rothert, "The Daniel Boone Bicentennial Commission of Kentucky and its Activities, 1934" (*ibid.*); Wil-

lard Rouse Jilson, "Boone's Station" (*ibid.*); Lucille Stillwell Williams, "John Cabel Breckenridge" (*Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, October); Everett E. Edwards, "American Indian Contributions to Civilization" (*Minnesota History*, September); William H. Gehrke, "The Beginnings of the Pennsylvania-German Element in Rowan and Cabarrus Counties, North Carolina" (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October); Clarence Poe, "The Bankhead Act and Democracy" (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, October); Marjorie Stratford Mendenhall, "Southern Women of a 'Lost Generation'" (*ibid.*); Bert James Lowenberg, "Efforts of the South to Encourage Immigration, 1865-1900" (*ibid.*); Dumas Malone, "The Geography of Achievement" (*The Atlantic*, December).

Acknowledgment is made of the receipt of the following publications: S. M. Rankin, *Buffalo Church and Her People* (Greensboro: Joseph J. Stone and Company. 1934. \$2.50); Henry Pleasants, Jr., *Thomas Mason, Adventurer* (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1934. Pp. xi, 366. \$2.50); Harold Francis Williamson, *Edward Atkinson: The Biography of an American Liberal, 1827-1905* (Boston: Old Corner Book Store, Inc. 1934. Pp. xiv, 304); Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee. A Biography*, Vols. I and II (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934. \$3.75 per volume).

Recent accessions to the collections of the Historical Commission include additions to the Thomas M. Pittman Collection of 442 pamphlets and books, 33 broadsides, 2 maps, and files of *The Southport Leader*, 1890-95, presented by Mrs. Thomas M. Pittman, Raleigh; Richmond County Court Minutes, 1793-97 and 1801-02; four typewritten volumes of genealogical material by Stuart H. Hill of Elmira, N. Y.; a collection of catalogues of the Asheville Female College, 1880-96, by J. W. Atkins of Gastonia; and collections of the Ladies' Memorial Association of Wake County and the General James Johnston Pettigrew Chapter, U. D. C., Papers, deposited by Mrs. Alfred Williams, Raleigh.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mr. William H. Gehrke is a superintendent in the employ of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, and resides in Greensboro, N. C.

Mr. Thomas Robson Hay is engaged in advertising and editorial work, and resides in Great Neck, Long Island, N. Y.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt is chief library assistant of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.

# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## NEGRO SUFFRAGE AND FUSION RULE IN NORTH CAROLINA \*

By WILLIAM ALEXANDER MABRY

The enfranchisement of the Negroes by the Radical Congress in 1867 forced upon the defeated and economically exhausted South a serious political problem. The Southern whites for generations had been accustomed to regard the Negro as a servant, and they now resented very keenly the prospect of having him as a political equal.

Aside from race prejudice, there were very practical objections to giving the mass of ex-slaves the right to vote. Illiterate and totally unfitted by years of slavery for an intelligent and independent use of the ballot, the great mass of Negro voters soon became the dupes of unscrupulous politicians—the Republican carpetbaggers and scalawags. That this would happen the native white leaders foresaw, and their direst predictions were fulfilled during the period of Reconstruction. The wholesale enfranchisement of the Negroes without any political apprenticeship, especially at a time when many of the ablest white leaders of the South were disfranchised for participation in the Rebellion, was deemed by the white South a crime against civilization. In this view many recent American historians have concurred.<sup>1</sup>

However much the South resented Negro suffrage, it was an accomplished legal fact, guaranteed by the new state constitu-

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\*This article is based on "The Disfranchisement of the Negro in the South," which was accepted by the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Duke University in 1933 as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

<sup>1</sup> James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1920), VII, 168; John W. Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution* (New York, 1902), p. 133; William A. Dunning, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1898), pp. 250-51.

tions and, in 1870, by the Fifteenth Amendment. The overthrow of the Reconstruction governments in no sense solved the problem of the Negro in politics.

#### DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE

North Carolina was one of the first of the Southern States to be "redeemed" from Republican rule. In 1870 the State Legislature passed into the hands of the Conservatives,<sup>2</sup> and there was little reason to believe that the "white man's party" would lose this legislative control, since approximately two-thirds of the population of the State were white. However, in sixteen Eastern counties<sup>3</sup> the Negroes constituted a majority and were capable of controlling indefinitely the election of local officials. Something had to be done to "redeem" the Black Belt.

A limited degree of intimidation and force had aided the Democrats in recovering control of the state government, but these means soon gave way to more subtle devices for vitiating the Negro vote. Especially after the amending of the state constitution in 1875,<sup>4</sup> the Democratic legislature had almost a free hand in working out plans whereby all sections of the State might be relieved of the fear of Negro government and a return of Reconstruction conditions. Of course, the subversion of the Negro vote had to be accomplished by indirection, as Negroes could not be discriminated against specifically as a race.

One of the first steps taken to prevent Negro rule in the black counties was the passage by the General Assembly in 1877 of "An Act to Establish County Governments."<sup>5</sup> This law provided for the appointment by the General Assembly of the more important county officials. Also, changes were made in the charters of Wilmington and other Eastern towns which enabled the

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<sup>2</sup> The Conservatives affiliated with the national Democratic party in 1871 and were henceforth called Democrats. Hamilton, J. G. deR., *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York, 1914), p. 643.

<sup>3</sup> These counties were: Bertie, Caswell, Chowan, Craven, Edgecombe, Granville, Halifax, Hertford, New Hanover, Northampton, Pasquotank, Pender, Richmond, Vance, Warren, and Washington. *United States Census, 1890* (Population), pp. 423-24.

<sup>4</sup> Article IV, section 30, authorized the General Assembly to elect the justices of the peace; Article VII, section 14, gave the General Assembly extensive powers with respect to municipal corporations.

<sup>5</sup> *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1876-77*, Ch. XLI, p. 227.

whites to control the municipal governments.<sup>6</sup> Thus the Legislature, now safely Democratic, was made the keystone of the governmental structure, and the Negro majorities in the Black Belt were rendered politically impotent. Centralized government for the whole State was defended as a necessary precaution against Negro rule in the East.

The Democratic majority did not stop with this one safeguard. Use of the gerrymander, disfranchisement for petty crimes commonly committed by Negroes, intricate election laws partially administered, and a liberal amount of "judicious" cheating by election officials aided the Democrats in rendering innocuous the Negro vote in the State.

One-party government had not been characteristic of antebellum North Carolina, and would not likely have come after the war had it not been for the enfranchisement of the Negroes. But since the Negroes adhered almost unanimously to the Republican party, a single "white man's party" was deemed a *sine qua non* of Anglo-Saxon supremacy. Obviously the entire program for the control of the Negro vote was based upon the assumption that the "white man's party" would remain intact. Democratic leaders were not slow to catch the significance of this fact. Pointing alarmingly to the possibility of a recurrence of Reconstruction conditions should the whites divide, they kept the masses in line and built a party organization so strong that Democratic supremacy was not effectively challenged in North Carolina for approximately a quarter of a century after 1870.

### THE POPULIST-REPUBLICAN FUSION

Quite early in the 1890's the political waters in North Carolina became troubled. Memories of Reconstruction were growing dim, and the people began to demand more of the party in power than simply the defense of the State against Negro rule. To many, that familiar cry seemed an outworn shibboleth. The lack of a vigorous opposition party had made the Democratic "Bourbons" conservative or, perhaps, reactionary. While no

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<sup>6</sup> In the case of Wilmington, the governor was authorized to appoint a "Board of Audit and Finance." The five members of this board were to have final authority with regard to all financial transactions of the city. (*Private Laws of North Carolina, 1877*, Ch. 143, p. 230.) Gerrymandering was the most commonly used device for insuring white control of the eastern towns. See *Van Bokkelen v. Canaday* (73 N. C. 198).

one doubted the sincerity or patriotism of men like Senators Zebulon B. Vance and Matt W. Ransom, there was a strong feeling that their outlook partook more of the past than of the present or of the future.

The issues which focused attention upon the conservatism of the Democratic leadership were essentially economic. Driven by the abnormally low prices of agricultural products, North Carolina farmers joined with their brethren of the other Southern and Western states in the Farmers Alliance movement, hoping to solve their common economic problems by coöperation. Originally there was no thought of organizing a separate political party. Most of the North Carolina Alliancemen were Democrats, and they hoped to secure the economic legislation which they deemed necessary through the instrumentality of their own party. Consequently, the state government was called upon to regulate the railroads and trusts, and the Democratic organization in the State was urged to support national measures looking toward inflation of the currency. Due to its failure to meet these demands promptly and to the satisfaction of the farmers, the Democratic "machine" lost the support of thousands of its former adherents.

In the fall of 1891 the *Progressive Farmer* began calling for the organization of a distinct farmers' party. The farmers had too long trusted their legislative interests to unsympathetic leaders, it was said. Agitation soon produced action. Marion Butler, president of the North Carolina Farmers Alliance, immediately upon his return from the Alliance Convention in St. Louis in February, 1892, issued a call for a state conference to be held in Raleigh on May 18.<sup>7</sup> Overtures had just been made to the national Populist party, and the obvious purpose of the Raleigh meeting was the setting up of a Populist organization in North Carolina.

Democratic leaders now became genuinely alarmed at the prospect of a division of the white vote. In an effort to forestall the development of a distinct farmers' party in the State, the Democrats hastened to nominate for governor Elias Carr, for-

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<sup>7</sup> Delap, S. A., "The Populist Party in North Carolina," *Trinity College Historical Society Papers*, Ser. XIV, p. 50.

mer president of the state Alliance. Also the Democratic platform called for free coinage of silver and a graduated income tax.<sup>8</sup>

Though openly supporting the national Populist ticket, Marion Butler and a number of other Alliancemen looked with favor upon the Democratic overtures and were reluctant to oppose the Democratic candidates for state offices. The race issue seems to have contributed very naturally to this reluctance. Said Butler in the editorial columns of his *Caucasian*:

Whatever differences may exist among North Carolinians over a question of national policy, there should be none in the State where Anglo-Saxon rule and good government is the paramount issue. . . . If you [Populists] elect your ticket you do so at the sufferance of the Republican party, and you are at their mercy now and in the future.<sup>9</sup>

The ghost of Negro rule was still faintly visible to Butler, but to the majority of the Populists the economic issues seemed paramount. They were tired of Democratic promises and were anxious to try their wings. Butler, himself, was soon converted and induced to lead the march away from the Democracy. The Populists held a meeting in Raleigh on August 16, 1892, and put a full state ticket in the field. Butler was made permanent party chairman, and Harry Skinner of Pitt County was nominated for governor. Skinner, like Butler, was a little wary of risking a Republican victory and asked permission to withdraw from the race if it appeared that the Republican candidate for governor might carry the State. But the Populists wanted no half-hearted standard-bearer. Wyatt P. Exum replaced Skinner as the Populist nominee for governor.<sup>10</sup>

The newly launched Populist party attracted to its standard not only those who were dissatisfied with agricultural conditions, but also many who, for other reasons, felt that the Democratic party was no longer progressive. To this substantial and respectable element was added a group of impractical idealists, fanatics, and political adventurers who were seeking their own advancement.<sup>11</sup>

The campaign of 1892 was a sharp one. Confronted by two opposition parties, the Democrats were now fighting with their

<sup>8</sup> Delap, S. A., "The Populist Party in North Carolina," *Trinity College Historical Society Papers*, Sec. XIV, p. 50.

<sup>9</sup> *The Caucasian* (Clinton, N. C.), July 2, 1892.

<sup>10</sup> *The News and Observer* (Raleigh, N. C.), Aug. 17, 1892.

<sup>11</sup> Hamilton, J. G. deR., *North Carolina Since 1860* (Chicago, New York, 1919), p. 221.

backs to the wall. Furnifold M. Simmons, of New Bern, then a comparatively young but thoroughly able political leader, was placed at the helm of the party. Under his direction, a systematic program of public speaking throughout the State was arranged, and a vast amount of campaign literature distributed. Compromise and conciliation were used in an attempt to coax Populists back into the Democratic party.

The activity displayed by the Democratic Executive Committee plus the fear of what might happen in the black counties in the event of Democratic defeat gave the incumbent party an additional two-year lease on the state government. Nevertheless, the Populist candidates made a respectable showing. Dr. Exum, the candidate for governor, received 47,840 of the 274,043 votes cast,<sup>12</sup> and eleven Populists were elected to seats in the Legislature. The greatest Populist strength was in the East, Chatham, Nash, and Sampson counties, especially, giving large majorities. These particular counties, however, were not in the Black Belt, where the farmers were apt to think twice before abandoning the Democratic party.

In their anxiety to check the rising tide of Populism, the Democrats had resorted to some political tactics which were, in the long run, to work to their disadvantage. Technicalities of the registration and election laws were rigidly enforced by Democratic officials against Populists and Republicans. Furthermore, the Legislature of 1893, controlled by the Democrats, sought to restrict the activities of the North Carolina Farmers Alliance by amending its charter.<sup>13</sup>

Marion Butler, thoroughly incensed, called upon the Populists to exert every effort to elect men to the next Legislature who would not only restore the original charter of the Alliance, but who would also "repeal the force bill election law on our statute books which makes it possible for a corrupt machine in a party to defeat the will of the majority, even of that party, much less the majority of the people."<sup>14</sup>

Fusion of the Populist and Republican parties, so much dreaded by the Democrats and longed for by the Republicans, was

<sup>12</sup> Connor, R. D. W., (ed.) *North Carolina Manual* (Raleigh, 1913), p. 1006.

<sup>13</sup> *Private Laws of North Carolina, 1893*, Ch. 137.

<sup>14</sup> Delap, S. A., "The Populist Party in North Carolina," p. 54.

effected during the campaign of 1894. Separate party organizations were maintained, but only one ticket—part Republican and part Populist—was put in the field. The two parties, in reality, had little in common save hostility toward the Democrats and the desire for political power. Populist fusion with the minority party was not peculiar to North Carolina. In several mid-Western states, where the Democrats were in the minority, there had taken place a Democratic-Populist fusion against the dominant Republican party. Here the situation was just the reverse, but the principle was the same.

The campaign of 1894 was very bitter, though there was little doubt from the start that the Fusionist<sup>15</sup> candidates, with their combined Populist-Republican support, would carry the election. The Fusion majority was even greater than was anticipated; the Democrats lost control of both houses of the Legislature. In the Senate there were now eight Democrats, eighteen Republicans and twenty-four Populists. In the House of Representatives, forty-six members were Democrats; thirty-eight, Republicans; and thirty-six Populists.<sup>16</sup>

Though the Negro vote did not contribute very materially to the Fusion victory, the overthrow of the Democratic majority in the Legislature soon brought the Negro actively into the political arena. The Fusionists tended to feel that the Democratic policy of centralized government and the incessant cry of "Nigger" had been simply parts of the Democratic scheme to keep the party in power. From year to year the Republicans had promised a restoration of local self-government should they get control of the Legislature.<sup>17</sup> Populist candidates had made similar promises; now they were called upon to fulfill them.

It is not unlikely that the Republican leaders genuinely wished to give more prominence to the Negro vote, as the Negroes then formed a substantial part of the membership of the Republican party. Also, there was a long-standing obligation upon the Republicans to appoint some Negroes to state offices. However, neither the Republican nor Populist was a "Negro Party" in the

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<sup>15</sup> Populists and Republicans, collectively, were dubbed "Fusionists" by the Democrats, and the term soon became widely used.

<sup>16</sup> *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia* (1895, new series), Vol. XX, p. 555.

<sup>17</sup> Platforms in *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia* (new series), Vols. I-XX.

sense that it preferred Negroes to whites in the more important offices. The Populists, as a whole, had little, if any, desire to see the Negro advanced politically. Yet, under their plan of electing local officers, the Negro was bound to occupy a more prominent place in the political life of the black counties than had been true under Democratic rule.

#### THE NEGRO UNDER FUSION RULE

The Fusion Legislature of 1895 very promptly undertook the task of dismantling the Democratic election machinery. Early in the session a bill "revising, amending, and consolidating the election laws of the State" was passed. Instead of having the election officers chosen by appointed justices of the peace, as under the Democratic election law, registrars and judges of election were to be named by the clerk of the court in each county, the clerk of the court being an elective officer. Each of the political parties was to have one representative on the board of registration and one of the three judges of election for each precinct. All registration and election officials were required to subscribe to an oath to support the Constitution and to perform faithfully the duties of their respective offices.<sup>18</sup>

An important change was made in the matter of challenging the names of persons registered. Whereas the Democratic law had provided for inspection of the registration books and the challenging of doubtful names on the Saturday preceding election day, which was on Tuesday, the new Fusion law provided that the challenging be done on the second Saturday preceding the day of election, thereby giving a week longer to determine the qualifications of persons challenged. Furthermore, the law stated that "the entry of the name, age, residence, and date of registration of any person by the registrar, upon the registration book of a precinct, shall be presumptive evidence of the regularity of such registration. . . ." No challenging of names was to be permitted on election day, except in the case of those who had become qualified to vote since the closing of the registration books.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1895, Ch. 159.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

Another point of difference in the Fusion election law and the Democratic law which it superseded was in the regulations regarding ballots. Section eighteen of the Fusion law provided that: "All ballots shall be printed or written, or partly written and partly printed, on paper, which may be of any color, and may or may not have thereon a device."<sup>20</sup> The Democratic law had prescribed that the ballots be on white paper only and should not have thereon a party device.

Which of the two election laws came nearer serving the ends of justice is a matter of opinion. The Fusion statute represents a reaction against the more intricate election law which had been designed by the Democrats originally to disfranchise the Negroes, but which, more recently, had been used to disfranchise white Populists and Republicans as well. The burden of proof was now clearly shifted from the voter to the election officials. Under the earlier law, officials were given wide discretionary powers in determining the truth or falsity of the essential facts stated by the person seeking to register. The new Fusion statute, on the contrary, declared that the entry of the facts as given by the applicant upon the registration books was "presumptive evidence of the regularity of such registration."

This tendency to make registration and voting easier was emphasized by the decision of the North Carolina Supreme Court in the case of *Quinn v. Lattimore*,<sup>21</sup> rendered in 1897. In this judgment, it was held that careless or fraudulent failure of a registration official to administer the required oath to an elector should not deprive him of his vote; that where a qualified elector, living near an uncertain boundary line, in good faith voted in the wrong township, his vote was to count. In other words, the benefit of the doubt was to be given to the elector.

That the judicial point of view on the subject of registration had altered with the change in personnel of the court is evidenced by a comparison of the case cited with *Harris v. Scarborough*,<sup>22</sup> decided five years earlier. At that time, Judge Avery in rendering the judgment of the court said in part: "In absence of proof to the contrary, it is always presumed that the

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<sup>20</sup> *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1895*, Ch. 159.

<sup>21</sup> *North Carolina Report*, No. 120, p. 246.

<sup>22</sup> *North Carolina Report* No. 110, p. 232.

officer has done his duty. . . . In the absence of any definite information on the subject, the failure to enter upon the registration books such facts connected with the history of an elector as the statute imperatively requires . . . must be considered due to the carelessness or inexcusable ignorance of such elector."

The effects of easier registration and voting upon Negro suffrage are not difficult to see. Numbers of Negroes who had been excluded for one cause or another under a strict interpretation of a rigid Democratic election law were now permitted to vote by friendly officers of election. Exactly how many more Negroes voted under Fusion rule than formerly can not be determined, since election statistics are not classified according to race. However, the increase in the total number of votes cast in successive elections is indicative of the trend. In the gubernatorial election of 1892, when the Democrats controlled the election machinery, the total vote cast numbered 278,043, while four years later the number of votes increased to 330,196.<sup>23</sup> Obviously, the 52,153 additional votes were not cast solely by Negroes, but many of them undoubtedly were. Not only was the Negro vote being solicited by the Fusionists, but the Negro had the added incentive of knowing that his vote would be counted and would help determine the election of local officers.

Negro office-holding, exceptional during the years of Democratic rule, became quite common in the Black Belt after the passage by the Legislature of 1895 of an "Act . . . to restore to the People of North Carolina Local Self-Government."<sup>24</sup> Negro majorities in the black counties could now elect county commissioners and other local officials whose positions had formerly been filled by appointment under the Democratic system of centralized government.

As a safeguard against a return to the misgovernment of Reconstruction, the act provided that, upon application of two hundred electors of a county, the superior court judge was to appoint two additional members of the county board of commissioners, who were to be of a different political party from the majority of the board. Furthermore, it was provided that four of the five

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<sup>23</sup> *North Carolina Manual, 1913*, p. 1006.

<sup>24</sup> *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1895*, Ch. 135.

members of the board must concur on a decision involving the payment of money, acceptance of official bonds, or contraction of debt.<sup>25</sup>

Considering these provisions, the Democrats had little for which to criticise the Fusionists on the score of "Negro rule." But two years later, when partisan feeling was running higher, the Fusionist Legislature repealed the section of the county government law which authorized the judicial check on the elective boards.<sup>26</sup> If Negro majorities in the black counties elected inefficient or otherwise undesirable officers, there was now no remedy.

The Fusionist policy with regard to the Eastern towns particularly angered the Democrats. The charters of Edenton, Elizabeth City, Greenville, Wilmington, New Bern, and Goldsboro were so amended as to place the municipal government, in almost every case, in the hands of Republicans or Populists.<sup>27</sup> In most of the towns gerrymandering was used to accomplish this end. Greenville furnishes a good example. Though the town had a white majority, the ward lines were so drawn as to enable the Negroes to elect four of the six councilmen. The Negro-controlled wards, the first and third, were shaped like "a broad-axe with a long handle" and the letter "V," respectively. Yet, being large, they were permitted to elect two councilmen each, while the more compact white wards, the second and fourth, were allotted only one councilman each. The Board of Councilmen, with its Negro majority, then appointed white Republicans as mayor and chief of police.<sup>28</sup>

Wilmington was made an exceptional case. Its charter was revised in such a fashion that practically the entire city government was placed under the control of a "Police Board" appointed by the Fusionist Legislature.<sup>29</sup> Naturally, the members of the board were Fusionists and Fusionists were given the best paying positions in other branches of the city government.<sup>30</sup>

As a result of the changes, the Negro was soon to come into his own in local and state politics. In New Hanover County,

<sup>25</sup> *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1895*, Ch. 135.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 1897, Ch. 368.

<sup>27</sup> *Private Laws of North Carolina, 1895*, Chs. 39, 85, 86, 121, 152, 330.

<sup>28</sup> *The News and Observer*, Aug. 11, 1898.

<sup>29</sup> *Private Laws of North Carolina, 1895*, Ch. 121.

<sup>30</sup> *The Morning Star* (Wilmington), March 30, 1895.

forty Negro magistrates were appointed between the years 1894 and 1898. The other Eastern counties, too, had their share of Negro magistrates—Bertie got sixteen; Edgecombe, thirty-one; Craven, twenty-seven; Halifax, twenty-nine; Granville, seventeen; and Caswell, seven. In all, the Fusion Legislature of 1895 named three hundred Negro magistrates.<sup>31</sup>

There were some Negroes who were not satisfied with a magistracy; these were given higher positions. Craven County elected a Negro register of deeds, Negro deputy registers, three Negro deputy sheriffs, a Negro coroner, and a Negro commissioner. A Negro was elected register of deeds in New Hanover County, and there were added Negro constables and Negro deputy sheriffs. Warren County had a Negro register of deeds, a Negro commissioner, and four or five Negro postmasters.<sup>32</sup>

Negroes soon found their way into the city as well as the county governments of the East. During the period of Fusion rule, Wilmington had fourteen Negro policemen, and one member of the finance committee was a Negro. Negro policemen and aldermen were chosen in New Bern.<sup>33</sup>

In the state government similar developments were taking place. James H. Young, a Negro, was made chief fertilizer inspector and a director of the State Asylum for the Blind. John C. Dancy, also a Negro, was appointed collector of customs for the port of Wilmington, and twenty-five Negro postmasters were named in sundry towns of the East. At the solicitation of state Republican leaders, a Negro deputy collector of customs was appointed for the Fourth District and also numerous gaugers. In the Second Congressional District, a Negro, George H. White, was nominated for a seat in Congress and elected in 1898. Craven County, in 1899, was represented in the Legislature solely by Negroes.<sup>34</sup>

The effects of Negro office-holding were felt all over the East. Lacking political experience and, in many cases, ability, the newly elected or appointed Negro officers did not make enviable records. But more important than the debatable point of the Negroes' inefficiency in office is the influence of Negro office-hold-

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<sup>31</sup> *The News and Observer*, Jan. 28, 1900.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 30, 1898; Jan. 28, 1900.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1900.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

ing on race relations. It was an open secret that the white people of North Carolina resented having to deal with Negro officials. The whites accused the Negroes of insolence, and the Negroes countered with charges of intolerance. Race relations in the black counties became strained almost to the breaking point.

From the Negroes' point of view, increased political activity under the existing circumstances was a doubtful asset. The vast majority of colored voters cast their ballots simply in accordance with instructions given them by white Republican leaders. Judge George H. Rountree of Wilmington relates that in the election of 1894 the Negroes of his city "exercised no choice at all," but "voted precisely as automatons."<sup>35</sup> The Negro officers only succeeded in making themselves unpopular with their white neighbors.

The political line-up in the campaign of 1896 was essentially the same as in 1894. Having failed to reach an understanding with the Democrats, the Populists again effected a last-minute fusion with the Republicans. Both parties kept their candidates for governor in the field, but arranged for a division of the remaining elective offices. The election resulted in another Populist-Republican victory. Daniel L. Russell, the Republican candidate, was elected governor, and the Fusion majority in the Legislature was maintained. As a consequence, more Negroes were appointed to office than ever before; there were at least a thousand Negro office-holders in the State after the complete Fusion victory in 1896.<sup>36</sup>

Realization on the part of the white people of the black counties that they must submit to seeing Negroes in office for another period of two years produced a feeling of undeniable bitterness toward both the Negroes and the Populist and Republican politicians who were responsible for their political activity. It was this smoldering fire of resentment among the white people of the East which the Democrats were to bring to the surface and fan into full flame during the campaign of 1898.

The Democratic leaders apparently realized that they must

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<sup>35</sup> George H. Rountree, "My Personal Recollections of the Campaign of 1898" (manuscript in possession of Professor J. G. deR. Hamilton, Chapel Hill, N. C.). Hereafter cited as Rountree, "Recollections."

<sup>36</sup> *The News and Observer*, Oct. 30, 1898.

stir the emotions of the people of the State in order to come back into power in 1898. The Democratic committee had spurned the offers of fusion made by the Populists in 1896, but had been unable, single-handed, to overcome the combined Populist-Republican strength. The same thing might happen again in 1898 unless the fight was waged on some issue that would cut through party lines. No better issue presented itself than that of "rescue the State from Negro rule."

#### THE RETURN OF THE DEMOCRATS TO POWER

The Democrats looked expectantly to the election of 1898. The campaign was really initiated when the Democratic Executive Committee met in Raleigh on November 30, 1897, and issued an address to the people of the State:

We have fallen on evil days in North Carolina. . . . They demonstrate the truth that no Southern State can be governed with honor and decency by the Republican party. Too large a number of its voters are ignorant for the masses to control, and too large a number of its leaders are venal and corrupt to give North Carolina good government, . . . The Democratic party promises the people on its return to power to correct all these abuses.<sup>37</sup>

Furnifold M. Simmons, who had directed the successful campaign of 1892, was again named chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee. He promptly set to work revamping his old political organization and making plans for the coming fight.

Both the Democratic and Populist conventions were held in Raleigh during the month of May, 1898. When the Populists assembled on May 17, the party was split into two factions over the question of future policies. One group led by Congressman Harry Skinner, Otho Wilson, and A. S. Peace, favored continued coöperation with the Republicans; while the other, controlled by Senator Marion Butler, Cyrus Thompson, and Hal W. Ayers, favored fusion with the Democrats. The Butler faction won in the convention; and overtures were made to the Democrats.<sup>38</sup>

Numbers of Democrats, including Josephus Daniels, favored treating with the Populists, since they had apparently "repudi-

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<sup>37</sup> *The Morning Star*, Dec. 2, 1897.

<sup>38</sup> *The News and Observer*, May 18, 1898.

ated Republicanism.”<sup>39</sup> But the Democratic Convention, in session on May 26, politely rejected the Populist proposal.<sup>40</sup> The Simmons group already had plans which included no compromises.

Chairman Simmons began to delve into the records of the Fusion administration and soon found targets at which to shoot. He charged that there had been misappropriation of state funds and larceny of public property in connection with the running of the state penitentiary. This “squandering and stealing” had gone on while John R. Smith, a Republican, was superintendent of the penitentiary. Governor Russell had learned of Smith’s misdeeds, but, instead of prosecuting him, had simply had him exchange positions with J. M. Mewborne, commissioner of agriculture. The facts in the case had not been made public. Furthermore, Simmons found that neither the superintendent nor the director of the penitentiary had made the reports required by law, and he now wrote to Superintendent Mewborne for information.<sup>41</sup>

Mewborne replied hotly with a letter which Mr. Simmons believes was written by Governor Russell. This “vicious” letter, replete with personal charges against Simmons, called for an answer; and one was promptly forthcoming from the Democratic chairman. The Simmons letter exposed the “corruption and arrogance of the Republican-Negro rule” and called upon Anglo-Saxons to stand together in defense of “White Supremacy.”<sup>42</sup> This letter, dated July 27, 1898, was given wide publicity by the newspaper press, and more than 100,000 copies were distributed by the Democratic committee. “White Supremacy” soon became the watchword of the campaign.

The Democratic leaders did not rely solely upon attacks against the Fusion record and appeals to race feeling; they likewise sought to bring the Populists back into the Democratic fold. Far and wide, it was proclaimed that the Democratic party had been “washed, purged, and made white as snow.” The older and more conservative leadership of the party to which the Populists had so strenuously objected in the early 1890’s had now been sup-

<sup>39</sup> *The News and Observer*, May 19, 1898.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, May 27, 1898.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, July 28, 1898.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

planted by a younger and, it was said, a more progressive group of men. Senator Zebulon B. Vance had died in 1894, and Matt W. Ransom had been replaced in the Senate by the Populist leader, Marion Butler, in 1895. Now other names headed the Democratic roll: Furnifold M. Simmons, Charles B. Aycock, Henry G. Connor, Robert B. Glenn, Claude Kitchin, William W. Kitchin, Locke Craig, Cameron Morrison, and other relatively young men. They stood ready and anxious to carry on a vigorous campaign against the Republicans and those Populists who refused to "recant."

The significant thing about these new Democratic leaders is that they talked of a new day in North Carolina. There were to be far-reaching reforms, they promised. Many of the demands made by the Populists when they "seceded" in 1892 were now included in the Democratic platform in 1898. Among these were: fair election laws, improvement of the public school system, a law prohibiting the promiscuous giving of free passes by the railroads, extension of the power of the railway commission, an income tax, and free coinage of silver.<sup>43</sup> Many Populists were attracted by the Democratic promises and returned to their former places in the Democratic ranks.

Under the able direction of Chairman Simmons the gospel of "White Supremacy" was carried to every section of the State by public speakers and an active party press. The people were thoroughly aroused to the purpose of "restoring good government to the State." Local committees were organized to carry on the work in the various towns and counties.

The conduct of the campaign in Wilmington furnishes a good example of the methods used by the Democratic leaders to arouse and organize public opinion. Judge George Rountree states that when he returned to Wilmington from Western North Carolina in August, 1898, the political situation in his home city was "extremely quiet." But soon a campaign committee of twenty business men was organized, and four of this number—Sheriff Stedman, E. G. Parmele, Col. Walker Taylor, and Judge Rountree—were chosen to direct the local fight. A campaign chest of three thousand dollars was raised in one morning. In order to interest

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<sup>43</sup> *Democratic Handbook*, 1898, pp. 188, 89.

the masses in the political issues, a White Supremacy Club was organized here, as in other sections of the State, under the direction of Francis D. Winston of Bertie County. Speeches were made before this club with the deliberate purpose of inflaming the white man's sentiment. Judge Rountree started one such tirade, but soon found that the club members "were already willing to kill all the office-holders and all the Negroes," so he "immediately reacted and became a pacifist."<sup>44</sup>

Various schemes were used to discredit and discourage the local Republicans. W. H. Chadbourn, Republican postmaster of Wilmington, was induced by the Democrats to write an open letter to Senator Pritchard describing the deplorable conditions in his city and in New Hanover County. This was given publicity by the papers and stirred up considerable sentiment. A few days later there followed a similar letter, signed by Flavell Foster, a Republican, but actually written by Judge Rountree. This advertising of conditions in Wilmington served to make the Negro office-holders quite sullen.<sup>45</sup>

In October, the New Hanover Republicans under the leadership of G. Z. French, an ex-carpetbagger, prepared to make their nominations. The local Democratic committee realized the difficulty of beating the Negro candidates, yet they foresaw that unless the Negro officials were supplanted by whites a race riot might ensue. Something had to be done to forestall the Republican efforts in the county. Consequently, E. R. Bryan, a former law partner of Governor Russell, was induced to go to Raleigh with James Sprunt and W. H. Chadbourn and confer with the governor about the situation. They persuaded Governor Russell to prevent the Republicans from running a ticket in New Hanover County.<sup>46</sup>

Chairman Simmons at first found the people of the Western counties hard to arouse on the subject of "White Supremacy." The black counties were a long way off, and their problems seemed remote. Then he hit upon the idea of the pictorial campaign. The Democratic newspapers were soon filled with photographs of Negro officers and candidates. *The News and Observer* induced Norman E. Jennett, a young Sampson County artist who

<sup>44</sup> Rountree, "Recollections."

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

had made good in New York, to return to Raleigh during the campaign and caricature the Fusion leaders and their Negro allies.<sup>47</sup>

The part played by the newspaper press in the campaign of 1898 can scarcely be overemphasized. In this field, the Democrats clearly had the advantage. The Fusion cause was staunchly defended by Senator Butler's *Caucasian*, but the Democrats had the support of such important sheets as *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), *The Charlotte Daily Observer*, and *The Morning Star* (Wilmington). *The News and Observer* was especially vigorous in its attacks on the Fusionists and Negroes in general. Any threats made or crimes committed by Negroes were sensationally described on the front page. The following editorial on October 18 is typical:

The triumph of the Fusion looters at the polls in November would mean the loss of millions of dollars in productive enterprises within the next few years. . . . Already the influx of capital, which had begun under the honest and safe administration of the Democratic party, has been checked. . . . In its stead the Fusionists have nothing better to offer than a horde of ignorant and semi-civilized Negroes from Virginia and South Carolina who are waiting for the triumph of Fusion to descend upon the State.

In the heat of the campaign, Ben Tillman came over from South Carolina and in a speech at Fayetteville on October 23 told how the Negroes had been disfranchised in his State.<sup>48</sup> Largely as a result of Tillman's visit, the "Red Shirt" idea which had been so popular in South Carolina, took hold in North Carolina, particularly in the Cape Fear region. In some respects the "Red Shirts" resembled the earlier Ku-Klux-Klan, but there are important differences. The "Red Shirts" was not a secret organization, and few if any real acts of violence have been charged against it. Negroes were simply warned of dire consequences if they continued to take an active part in politics.

While the Democrats busied themselves with their "White Supremacy" campaign, the Republican and Populist leaders were by no means inactive. They appealed to the masses by telling

<sup>47</sup> *The News and Observer*, Aug. 6, 1898.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1898.

them that if the Democrats came into power they would disfranchise both the illiterate Negroes and the illiterate whites.

This program of disfranchisement the Democrats disavowed most emphatically. On September 25, Chairman Simmons gave out the following statement through the Democratic press:

✓ For the past twenty years or more, just before every election, the Republican speakers, at their midnight meetings, have been in the habit of telling the Negroes if the Democrats came into power their right to vote would be taken away from them. . . . Finally the Negro himself began to see through the trick. He had seen the Democrats in full power in the State for twenty-two years, and had learned through experience that the party did not propose to disfranchise him. . . . So the old Republican scarecrow had to be hauled down and put away.<sup>49</sup>

If the Democrats had any preëlection plans of disfranchising illiterates, they could not afford to publish such a program, for it would most certainly have lessened the Democratic strength in the Western counties where the rate of white illiteracy was comparatively high. Democratic leaders did propose, quite openly, to deprive the Negro of his political power, but how this was to be done was not clearly stated during the campaign. The Democratic cry was simply, "Save the State from Negro rule."

The "White Supremacy" issue proved exceedingly effective. Political enthusiasm was aroused throughout the State to a degree seldom equaled. A Democratic mass meeting at Goldsboro on October 27 attracted some eight thousand persons, and the railroads furnished special trains and reduced rates for the occasion. Most of the Democratic leaders of the State were present, and Senator John W. Daniel of Virginia was invited as a special guest.<sup>50</sup>

The embittering of feeling between the races was an unfortunate but necessary consequence of this type of campaign. Judge H. G. Connor afterwards wrote that the politicians "stirred the minds and feelings of the people more deeply than they intended."<sup>51</sup> Certainly, they were very deeply stirred.

Occasional rumors were circulated in the newspapers that the Negroes were bringing arms into the State.<sup>52</sup> A few minor race

<sup>49</sup> *The Charlotte Daily Observer*, Sept. 25, 1898.

<sup>50</sup> *The News and Observer*, Oct. 28, 1898.

<sup>51</sup> H. G. Connor to George Howard, Nov. 25, 1898. In H. G. Connor Correspondence in possession of R. D. W. Connor, Washington, D. C.

<sup>52</sup> *The News and Observer*, Nov. 1, 1898.

clashes took place, one such being at Ashpole, near Lumberton, on October 23. Three white men were wounded there in a brawl resulting from the refusal of a white registrar to register a Negro after, according to the registrar's story, the regular period of registration had ended.<sup>53</sup>

The Fusionist leaders accused the Democrats of deliberately fomenting and making political capital of race conflicts. Jeter C. Pritchard, North Carolina's Republican Senator, communicated with President McKinley with regard to the race troubles and suggested the possibility of calling for federal troops if the situation did not improve. Governor Russell, on October 26, published a proclamation commanding "all ill-disposed persons" of whatever political party "to immediately desist from all unlawful practices and all turbulent conduct."<sup>54</sup>

Chairman Simmons issued through the press a stirring address to the people of the State as the campaign neared a close. He charged that the Fusionists had increased the expenses of the government three hundred thousand dollars, had sold public offices, and had grossly mismanaged state institutions. The address was climaxed by the now familiar plea for "White Supremacy":

In the midst of all this din and conflict, there came a voice from the East like the wail of Egypt's midnight cry. It was not the voice of despair, but of rage. A proud race which had never known a master had been placed under the control and domination of that race which ranks lowest, save one, in the human family. . . . North Carolina is a WHITE MAN'S state and WHITE MEN will rule it, and they will crush the party of Negro domination beneath a majority so overwhelming that no other party will ever dare to attempt to establish Negro rule here.<sup>55</sup>

By the day of the election, November 8, excitement had reached fever heat. More people turned out to vote than ever before in the history of the State. The fact that 337,960 of 380,000 possible votes were cast in the election is indicative of the wide-

<sup>53</sup> *The News and Observer*, Oct. 24, 1898.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 27, 1898.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1898.

spread concern over its outcome.<sup>56</sup> R. B. Glenn later described in very vivid terms the scenes enacted on that day.

Long before sunrise, merchants, farmers, lawyers, mechanics, doctors, and ministers of the gospel were at their voting precincts to make every possible effort to win the day, and the Greeks at Marathon were not more determined to conquer the Persians or die than our people were determined to wrest the government out of the hands of corrupt and incompetent men. We were fighting for our liberties, our homes, the safety of our dear ones, the protection of our State, and therefore no insults, no threats deterred us from doing our duty.<sup>57</sup>

When the returns were in, it was determined that the Democrats had carried the State by a large majority. Only seven Fusionists were returned to the Senate, and twenty-six to the House of Representatives.<sup>58</sup> The Democratic victory, so far as the Legislature was concerned, was complete. And it was this branch of the government that the Democrats were most anxious to recapture in order to put an end to Negro office-holding in the black counties.

Flushed with victory, the Democrats held jubilees throughout the State to celebrate their return to power. Raleigh erected a triumphal arch and staged an elaborate demonstration with a street parade, brass bands, and numerous speeches.<sup>59</sup>

An explanation of the sweeping Democratic victory in 1898 must take into account a number of factors. In the first place, the political situation was probably ripe for a change. The Fusion administration, though it had put through certain needed reforms, had otherwise not particularly distinguished itself. On the contrary, its record reveals numerous instances of inefficiency and corruption. These instances were magnified, of course, by the Democrats, and reforms instituted by the Fusion Legislature were slurred over. Racial feeling was deeply stirred, and the Fusionists were blamed for the evils resulting from Negro office-holding in the East. No party which catered to the political interests of the Negroes could hope to remain long in power in North Carolina.

The Fusionists did not even get the benefit of a full Negro

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<sup>56</sup> *The Caucasian*, Feb. 1, 1900.

<sup>57</sup> *The Charlotte Daily Observer*, Jan. 28, 1900.

<sup>58</sup> *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1898 (Third Series, Vol. III), p. 511.

<sup>59</sup> *The News and Observer*, Nov. 15, 1898.

vote for the simple reason that many Negroes were afraid to go to the polls. Of actual violence there was comparatively little, both during the campaign and on the day of election. But the Democratic speakers made some dangerous threats, and the armed "Red Shirts" looked menacing. Col. Alfred Waddell made a speech in Wilmington a few nights before the election in which he told the Negroes quite bluntly that, "we will have no more of the intolerable conditions under which we live. We are resolved to change them if we have to choke the current of the Cape Fear with carcasses."<sup>60</sup> In the face of such threats, however empty they might have been, there is small wonder that Negroes were reluctant to show much political activity.

Through all this campaign of passion and prejudice there were some of the more statesmanlike Democrats who were genuinely interested in the welfare not only of the State, but of the Negroes as well. Such a man was Henry Groves Connor, who was elected to the Legislature from Wilson County. During the heat of the campaign he wrote to a personal friend:

I pray that the present conditions may pass away without violence or bloodshed, and that our whole people may be wiser and understand each other better. I feel a strong desire to speak to the Negroes and let them know how I feel towards them, but just now I would not be understood.<sup>61</sup>

Judge Connor's prayer, however, was not to be realized. The fires of racial antipathy, having been deliberately lighted, were not easily extinguished. One of the direct and unfortunate results of the Democratic victory was the so-called "Wilmington Revolution" of November 10. Excitement and race feeling had been worked up to a high pitch for the election, and to this was added the jubilation over the Democratic victory. Wilmington was admittedly impatient to be relieved of its Negro officials.

On November 9, the white business men of the city held a mass meeting and adopted a series of resolutions expressing, in general terms, the determination of the white men to control the city government in the future. The former Democratic mayor, S. H. Fishblate, introduced additional resolutions demanding the immediate expulsion of the Fusionist mayor and

<sup>60</sup> *The News and Observer*, Nov. 6, 1898.

<sup>61</sup> H. G. Connor to George Howard, Oct. 20, 1898. *Loc. cit.*

board of aldermen, but these resolutions were voted down. It was decided at the meeting, however, to take action against Manly, the Negro editor of the *Wilmington Record*, who had written an editorial which was regarded as insulting to the whites. A letter, ordering Manly to leave Wilmington within twenty-four hours and take his printing press with him, was sent to a committee of Negro leaders. The ultimatum specified that the white committee, headed by Col. Alfred M. Waddell, was to be notified of Manly's intentions by seven-thirty o'clock the following morning.<sup>62</sup>

Manly had already left the city, but the group of Negro leaders consented to assume responsibility for shipping his press to him immediately. A message to this effect was sent by a Negro named Scott to Colonel Waddell. Instead of taking the message to the Light Infantry Armory, as the ultimatum had instructed, Scott mailed the letter. Consequently, at seven-thirty o'clock the next morning no word had been received from Manly or the Negro committee. After waiting impatiently until nine o'clock, a white mob numbering about four hundred men went to Manly's newspaper office, broke in the door, wrecked the presses, and let the building "accidentally" catch fire. The Negroes, of course, became alarmed as word spread that their homes were in danger of being burned; groups gathered in various parts of the city. Both the whites and Negroes were armed, and the situation was a precarious one. According to sworn testimony, a Negro boy fired the first shot into a group of whites; the whites returned the fire, and four or five Negroes fell dead. Before the riot was quelled by the militia, three white men had been wounded, eleven Negroes killed, and twenty-five wounded.<sup>63</sup>

After the violence had subsided, an enraged white mob escorted "Gizzard" French, ex-Police Chief Melton, two other white Republicans, and seven Negro ring leaders to the train and instructed them never to set foot again in Wilmington. The whole population of the city was thoroughly aroused over the affair, numbers of Negroes fled in terror, and the militia patrolled the streets for several days.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Rountree, "Recollections."

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*; *The Morning Star*, Nov. 11, 12, 1898; *The Charlotte Daily Observer*, Nov. 11, 12, 1898.

<sup>64</sup> *The Morning Star*, Nov. 12, 1898.

An immediate outcome of the "revolution" was the resignation of the mayor and board of aldermen, and their replacement by Democrats named by Colonel Waddell's committee. Colonel Waddell, himself, became the new mayor and immediately swore in two hundred and fifty white policemen. As the meeting installing the new officers adjourned, Judge Rountree received a telegram from Governor Russell stating that if the business men of Wilmington would select a mayor and board of aldermen, he would have the present mayor and board resign.<sup>65</sup> But this, of course, was an accomplished fact.

The effects of the "Wilmington Revolution" were widespread. While the outbreak of violence was universally regretted by Democratic leaders, it served further to stimulate race feeling and to make the white people of the State determined to seek a permanent solution of the problem of the Negro in politics. The Wilmington riot was a blot on the record of the State and must not be repeated. If the Negro could be entirely removed from politics, race relations might be immeasurably improved and politics raised to a higher level. These were the arguments the Democratic majority was to hear and act upon when the Legislature assembled in 1899. The stage was soon to be set for a second "White Supremacy" campaign and the adoption of North Carolina's "Disfranchising Amendment" in 1900.

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<sup>65</sup> Rountree, "Recollections"; *The Morning Star*, Nov. 11, 1898.

## ANTI-JEFFERSONIANISM IN THE ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH

By W. G. BEAN

On the eve of the Civil War, the dominant group in the South in its political philosophy had almost completed the evolution from Jeffersonianism to Calhounism. This evolution was the result of the economic revolution of the first quarter of the 19th century, which had changed the South from a frontier community to a planting community engaged primarily in the cultivation of cotton with slave labor. This change from frontier to plantation was accompanied by a new attitude toward slavery; the abolition sentiments of the fathers were supplanted by a spirited defense of this peculiar institution by the influential classes in the South: statesmen, economists, publicists, clergymen, and journalists. Calhoun, the first prominent spokesman of this position, uttered in the Senate, Jan. 12, 1838, these significant words:<sup>1</sup>

Many in the South once believed that it [slavery] was a moral and political evil. That folly and delusion are gone. We see it now in its true light and regard it as the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world.

This new conception of slavery necessitated a new political and social philosophy. The political and social idealism embodied in, and the democratic inferences drawn from, Jeffersonian democracy were unsuitable weapons in the hands of the slave masters to justify the enslavement of human beings. The old Jeffersonian values were examined in a realistic spirit by a new generation of slave owners, who concluded that new values were needed. As a reaction against the idealism of 18th century America, so dear to the anti-slavery protagonists of the 1850's, the South evolved for herself a philosophy, based on the influence of Greek democracy,<sup>2</sup> a literal understanding of the Bible, and the speculations of Dew, Harper, Calhoun, and others.

It is not the purpose of this paper to set forth any new thesis, as the rejection of the democratic ideals of Jeffersonianism by

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<sup>1</sup> *Works* (New York, 1853), III, 180.

<sup>2</sup> Parrington, V. L., *Main Currents in American Thought* (Boston, 1927), II, 61.

the leaders of the ante-bellum South is an accepted fact by students of American history. It is proposed rather to indicate, in a limited way,<sup>3</sup> the extent and degree of this rejection by the South and also to note the acceptance of these ideals by the anti-slavery North. While the slave protagonists contended that the anti-slavery interpretation of certain phases of Jeffersonian democracy was erroneous, they also rejected other aspects of Jeffersonianism. On the other hand, the Republican North invoked consistently the spirit of the Sage of Monticello in its defense of freedom, free society, free labor, and congressional exclusion of slavery from the territories. John P. Hale of New Hampshire, sturdy foe of slavery, declared in the Senate, February 14, 1860, that he would follow the "Jefferson of the Revolution; I will take him in the morning of his life, in the maturity of his manhood; I will take him as the apostle and prophet of the Revolution; I will listen to him as he stood like the prophet on the mount, catching the electric fire of heaven and pouring it out in articulate thunder in the ears of an astonished world, in the sublime truths of the Declaration of Independence."<sup>4</sup> The pre-war Republican party claimed Thomas Jefferson as its political saint: Republicanism was presented as true Jeffersonianism. The Democratic party of 1860, representative of the vested interests of cotton planters,<sup>5</sup> had repudiated the radical, democratic teachings of Jefferson.

While the South was accepting the fundamental tenets of Calhoun democracy<sup>6</sup>—equality as the right of equals only, superiority of the white race as a justification of black slavery, rejection of the principle of the numerical majority, denial of certain inalienable rights, and exploitation of black labor as the

<sup>3</sup> Although this study is based largely upon an examination of the congressional speeches of the Southern Democratic members, these speeches reflect in general the opinions of the aggressive slave element which precipitated the secession movement of 1860-61. It is not claimed that the anti-Jeffersonian ideas set forth in this paper were acceptable to every group in the South. The conservative Unionist element, at least, viewed, with alarm, the promulgation of certain of these ideas. Sam Houston deplored the curtailment of liberal democracy in South Carolina, alluding to the illiberal features of the Constitution of that State. *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., App., p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 764.

<sup>5</sup> David Willmot said in Congress, July 24, 1850, that "slavery is anti-republican—it is aristocratic in all its tendencies and results. . . . It is a great moneyed interest—a vast pecuniary capital, with the heartless instincts of capital; and I am deadly hostile to the control of capital in this government." *Cong. Globe*, 1 Sess., App., 940. Windom of Minnesota also referred, March 14, 1860, to the Democratic party as the "champion of the aristocratic, pampered, purse-proud few, who regard the laboring man as a slave." *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 171.

<sup>6</sup> Merriam, C. E., *American Political Theories* (New York, 1916), Ch. 6.

basis of civilization—the humanitarian hope inherent in Jeffersonian democracy was being proclaimed by the anti-slavery North. Although the Liberty and Free Soil parties harked back to the Declaration of Independence for their ideas of human brotherhood and democracy, it was not until the appearance in Congress of zealous anti-slavery men in the early fifties, and also the formation of the Republican party, that “anti-slaveryism” prominently identified itself with Jeffersonianism. Horace Mann of Massachusetts, deserting reluctantly the schoolroom to occupy the vacated seat of John Quincy Adams in Congress, and Joshua Giddings, the veteran anti-slavery representative from Ohio, took the lead in the identification of the anti-slavery crusade with Jeffersonian democracy.

Amid the threats of secession of 1850, Mann suggested a new Declaration of Independence and a new Constitution for the proposed Southern Confederacy, the preamble of the new Constitution reading:<sup>7</sup>

We the people of the “United States of the South,” in order to form a more perfect conspiracy against the rights of the African race, establish injustice, insure domestic slavery, provide for holding three millions of our fellow-beings, with all the countless millions of their posterity, in bondage, and to secure to ourselves and our posterity the enjoyment of power, luxury, and sloth, do ordain. . . .

Giddings affirmed that the Declaration of Independence was the “foundation of my Republicanism. . . . You, gentlemen of the Democratic party, stand forth here denying this doctrine. . . . You, who call yourselves Democrats, pronounce your anathemas against Jefferson, the apostle of Democracy. . . . and say you have formed a new basis upon which this government shall be administered.”<sup>8</sup> He also informed his colleagues that this document “penned by the great author of American Republicanism” was the “first anti-slavery document” read by himself and that “upon this rock the Republican church is built and the gates of hell [slavery] shall not prevail against it.” The day upon which the Republican party was formed, according to this doughty old Jeffersonian from the Western Re-

<sup>7</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 223. Durkee of Wisconsin regarded, June 7, 1850, the Wilmot Proviso as “one of cardinal principles of the Declaration of Independence.” *Ibid.*, 740.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 46.

serve, was the dawning of a reformation "more important in . . . its effects upon mankind than has occurred since the sixteenth century." Republicanism asserted doctrines which Luther and Calvin dared not assert.<sup>9</sup>

The Republicans in Congress not only proudly proclaimed themselves Jeffersonians, but they chided the Democrats upon their apostacy from the original principles of Jefferson. The Republican party, Trumbull told the Senate,<sup>10</sup> advocated every principle of the old Republican party. "Show me," he challenged his Democratic colleagues, "a single departure from the principles of . . . Thomas Jefferson's day." Congressman Wade of Ohio, brother of the senator from the same State, declared<sup>11</sup> that their new philosophy would not stand the "scrutiny of the present age. It is a departure from the views and principles of your fathers; it is founded in the selfishness and cupidity of men, and not in the justice of God." Ashley of Ohio,<sup>12</sup> in a speech entitled, "The Success of the Calhoun Revolution: The Constitution Changed and Slavery Nationalized," accused the slave states of discarding their old political faith. Democracy at its birth, said Morrill of Vermont,<sup>13</sup> had faith in the people; now in its "gray hair-hood it has faith only in the conservatism of a judiciary elected for life, and in a nationality represented by slavery." Charles Francis Adams, later minister to London, dissented from the Southern interpretation that equality was the right of the white man: that "new version was an afterthought of a later age. Mr. Jefferson thought it was *human nature* itself that possessed these most sacred rights which he denominated inalienable, and not the small portion of it included in the white population." Adams added:<sup>14</sup>

The construction put upon the Declaration of Independence for the first half of our career is favorable to the liberty of human nature throughout the world. The construction *now* put upon the same language is designed to overthrow it, by setting one portion of mankind so far above another as to justify the former in compelling the latter to perpetual

<sup>9</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 63.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 56.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, App., 154.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 365.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 387.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 2514.

subjection to its will. . . . It is the American sanctification of the sovereignty of force. . . . It is the tyrant's plea for necessity, varnished over with the gild of modern politico-judiciary.

Corwin of Ohio complained of the Southern epithets hurled at the Republicans. "Is it fair," he asked the Southerners, "because we have not changed, but still adhere to the old opinions, to charge us with being reptiles, traitors, and serpents? If it is, then dig up from their resting place the bones of Jefferson and hang them up, as royal hatred in England did Cromwell's."<sup>15</sup>

These anti-slavery interpretations<sup>16</sup> of the democracy of the slave owner, Jefferson, elicited in Congress varied replies from the spokesmen of the slave interests. The ponderous senator from Georgia, Toombs, accused the Republicans of appropriating "so much of their [Jefferson's and Madison's] ideas of free negro-dom as suit them."<sup>17</sup> He recalled to their memory that Jefferson owned slaves and bequeathed them to his heirs. "I expect to do the same," this Georgian added;<sup>18</sup> "so our practice is the same, whatever our notions may be. I am following Mr. Jefferson's practice in this respect." Exasperated and ruffled in temper at the persistence of Republicans in quoting Jefferson, Toombs thundered, on the eve of his withdrawal from the Senate: "You say they meant their slaves. . . . Did those fathers, who pledged to God and to mankind their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, mean to cheat the human race? Did they falsely and fraudulently utter that sentiment and still hold on to their slaves as long as they lived?" Senator Chestnut of South Carolina explained<sup>19</sup> that the primary purpose of the Declaration of Independence was to announce the separation from England and to assign reasons for this action. "It is true," he conceded, "that the framers saw fit to announce certain political and social dogmas, some of which are true and philosophic, while others in the sense in which they seem to be understood and used

<sup>15</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 142.

<sup>16</sup> Any discussion, however cursory it might be, of the political philosophy of original Republicanism would be inadequate without mention of Lincoln's Jeffersonianism. His interpretation of the Declaration of Independence is set forth in several of his debates with Douglas, and his best exposition of the significance of the principles of Jefferson is to be found, perhaps, in his letter to the Boston Republicans, April 6, 1859, in which he wrote that the mission of the Republican party was to prevent the overthrow of these principles. See Nicholay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, Complete Works* (New York, 1907), I, 232.

<sup>17</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 1747.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 270.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 1617. Chestnut's predecessor, A. P. Butler, had previously asserted, Feb. 24, 1854, in the Senate: "Inequality pervades the creation of the universe . . . : The Abolitionists cannot make equal whom God had made unequal."

by the anti-slavery party, are fantastic and false; yet the Republicans seize on these last and present them as indubitable evidence of the correctness of that theory which they advocate."

While the Southerners denied that the authors of the Declaration of Independence intended to include Negroes when they declared all men to be created equal, they were willing to admit their anti-slavery sentiments. These were attributed, however, to various causes. Millson of Virginia said that slavery, at the time of the Revolution, was not regarded as a social system established between the races for mutual benefit. It was the opinion of Jefferson Davis that these anti-slavery beliefs existed when this country occupied very little semi-tropical territory. "Climate, the question of interest, the question of power—political and social power in the community . . .," he declared on the floor of the Senate,<sup>20</sup> "led many of those who philosophized on the subject to reach the conclusion that slave property was not beneficial to their states. . . . Circumstances have changed; nay, more than that, we have learned now that . . . that race is doomed by the Creator to occupy the attitude of servility." These opinions of the fathers, to the ardent Calhounite,<sup>21</sup> J. L. M. Curry, congressman from Alabama, were mere speculations and were not engrafted upon the organic law of the country. While the fiery and scholarly Keitt of South Carolina agreed with the Republicans that the framers of the Constitution held anti-slavery views, he also argued that, in spite of these views, they drew up a pro-slavery Constitution.<sup>22</sup> He charged his opponents with appealing to the anti-slavery sentiments of the early fathers, but with concealing their pro-slavery acts. After all, he proclaimed, what the fathers thought about slavery was immaterial, since that question had not then been thoroughly discussed and the inferiority of the black race had not been demonstrated. Besides, the fathers were "imbued with the influence of the French

<sup>20</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 601.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 1155.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, App., 93. Toombs contended in his lecture at Tremont Temple, Boston, Massachusetts, Jan. 24, 1856, that every clause in the Constitution relating to slavery was intended "to increase it, to strengthen it, or to protect it." See his speech (pamphlet) in M. W. Cluskey, *Democratic Electoral Hand Book* (Washington, 1856).

Revolution and were effected [sic] by the abstractions of the Declaration of Independence." The erratic Wigfall of Texas impatiently exclaimed in the Senate that he was,<sup>23</sup>

tired and sick of the fathers. There has been enough of that thing talked of. We are wiser than they were. We are the old men, and they were the young men. I care not what their age or experience was. . . . There are men now . . . who have as much brains as they . . . it is twaddle to talk of the wisdom of the ancestors. . . . What nation . . . would consent to be governed by the wisdom of the past century?

This repudiation of the egalitarian aspect of Jeffersonian democracy was, moreover, not confined to the Southern representation in Congress. The utterances of William L. Yancey, Edmund Ruffin, George Fitzhugh, and Alexander H. Stephens in regard to this issue were distinctly anti-Jeffersonian. Fitzhugh<sup>24</sup> always derided the abstract principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and pronounced them "at war with the institution of slavery . . . with Christian marriage, and with private property in lands." The fathers' minds were heated and blinded, he wrote in *DeBow's Review*, August, 1860, ". . . by a false philosophy, which, beginning with Locke in a refined materialism, had ripened on the Continent into open infidelity"; and Stephens, in his famous "Corner-stone speech," at Savannah, Georgia, March, 1861, asserting that Jefferson's ideas about slavery were fundamentally wrong, proclaimed to the world that slavery was the natural and normal condition of the black man.

Not only then was the political philosophy of the ante-bellum South at variance with the anti-slavery, equalitarian interpretation of Jeffersonianism, but the belief also was current in the Cotton Kingdom that the Jeffersonian principles of the rule of the numerical majority, of the existence of inalienable rights, and of free society<sup>25</sup> based on free labor were subversive of order and good government. In 1841, Abel P. Upshur of Virginia, jurist, planter, political philosopher, and leader of the anti-Jefferson-

<sup>23</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 1658.

<sup>24</sup> See his *Sociology for the South* (Richmond, 1854). Fitzhugh characterized Jefferson as the "architect of ruin, the inaugurator of anarchy," and likened his principles to those of Seward's higher law. *Cannibals All; or, Slaves Without Masters* (Richmond, 1857).

<sup>25</sup> Lincoln had written on April 6, 1859, that the principles of Jefferson were "the definitions and axioms of free society." Nicholay and Hay, *op. cit.*, I, 232.

sonians in the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-30, in an address before the literary societies of William and Mary College,<sup>26</sup> declared that natural rights and natural freedom never existed and that the extension of the democratic principle was a menace to free institutions. He characterized the natural rights dogma as one that "overlooks all social obligations, denies the inheritable quality of property, unfrocks the priests, and laughs at the marriage tie," and the numerical majority heresy as the prolific breeder of agrarianism and of the leveling principle. Dorr's rebellion was to Upshur<sup>27</sup> a fine illustration of the madness of democracy and the "workings of the majority principle." A perusal of the congressional debates in the late fifties reveals a widespread fear of Southerners of the tyranny of the majority.<sup>28</sup> Garnett of the Old Dominion denied that a mere majority was the expression of the will of the people: this could be obtained only by representation of diverse interests and sections. This same gentleman said:<sup>29</sup>

You of the North seem to prefer the Massachusetts school . . . it rests on the infallibility of the majority—the divine right of the greater number to rule absolutely the lesser . . . its final word must be a despotism of mere numbers under a military dictatorship, after the French fashion. The Virginia school . . . is more English . . . its motto is, not the Benthamite heresy . . . but the greatest good of all. Founding its society on the subordination of an inferior to a superior race, it would combine the lofty spirit and culture of an aristocracy with the equality of democracy.

" . . . Free governments, so far as their protecting power is concerned," averred Curry of Alabama, "are made for minorities," and Senator Hammond of South Carolina affirmed that the "Constitution of the country was made by a minority" in the behalf of minorities.<sup>30</sup> Another South Carolinian, Keitt, opposed<sup>31</sup> the resubmission of the LeCompton Constitution to the people of Kansas as a surrender to the doctrine of mobocracy and branded the rule of the numerical majority as the reign of

<sup>26</sup> *Southern Literary Messenger*, XXII. "The True Theory of Government."

<sup>27</sup> Letter to Beverly Tucker. Tyler, *Life and Times of John Tyler* (Richmond, 1884), II, 198.

<sup>28</sup> See debates in Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-30 for contest over the nature of the majority: numerical or mixed majority.

<sup>29</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 414.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 69.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 1011.

brute force. "There is no curse so bitter and blasting to a political society," he claimed, "as the rule of a mob; and, under these stimulating heresies [popular sovereignty and referendum], the numerical majority will become a mob. Sir, against the banns about to solemnize the marriage between fanaticism and brute force, I solemnly protest." The implacable C. C. Clay of Alabama (Senator) regretted to see the tendency in the land,<sup>32</sup>

to democratize our Government, to submit every question . . . to the vote of the people. This is sheer radicalism. It is the Red Republicanism of Revolutionary France . . . not the Republicanism of our fathers. Their Republicanism was stable and conservative; this is mutable and revolutionary. Theirs offered a shield for the minority; this gives a sword to the majority. Theirs defended the rights of the weak; this surrenders them to the power of the strong.

In regard to the inalienable rights of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, Chestnut, following in the philosophic footsteps of Calhoun, asserted that man should possess as much liberty as he was fit to enjoy and as was consistent with the safety of society, citing Aristotle<sup>33</sup> as authority for his opinion. Happiness, because of the different conceptions of what constituted it, was, like liberty, not an endowed right. "The happiness of some men," he reasoned,<sup>34</sup> "consists in turbulence and brutality; some in carnage . . . while others revel in revenge, treason, and murder. Ay, pursue your happiness, gentlemen all, without restraint of human law. You but exercise a God-given right. Suggestive theory! Glorious and inciting doctrine for the race of Brown, with pike, and torch, and flaming hate!" Yet this was

<sup>32</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 146. See also remarks of Butler of South Carolina about the despotism of an unlimited democracy. *Ibid.*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 238, 240.

<sup>33</sup> One Southern congressman, L. D. Evans of Texas, refused to accept the Aristotelian principle of natural superiority. "It might do very well for the old servile tutor of the tyrant of Macedon; but emanating from the lips of a Virginia professor, or a statesman of Carolina, it startles the ear, and shocks the moral sense of a republican patriot," he told his colleagues, Feb. 4, 1857. Evans still believed in the Jeffersonian formula of the equality of all men, and employed it to justify slavery. There were limitations, he contended, to the application of the doctrine of equality of mankind, and the mistake of the anti-slavery men was their failure to recognize that slavery was one of the natural laws of limitation placed upon the principle of human equality. "An individual may be subordinated to control, yet you do not thereby destroy his natural equality any more than you can annihilate gravity by lifting a pebble from the brook." In another way, this Southerner was unorthodox: he believed in the possibility of the improvement of the black race to the condition, perhaps, where freedom would follow. He advocated certain reforms in the institution of slavery: fixture of slave to the soil, right of marriage, and prevention of the dissolution of family ties. "When serfage has once been established, a thousand causes will occur in the progressive elevation of the institution to a state of perfect freedom." Here, in the halls of Congress, in 1857, was an old Jeffersonian representing a slave constituency and believing in the eventual abolition by reforming the institution of slavery! It might be added in passing that Evans was defeated for reelection by John H. Reagan. *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 3 Sess., App., 228, for his speech.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 1617.

the kind of liberty advocated by the anti-slavery party, declared Chestnut. The imperious Davis of Mississippi refused to discuss natural rights, "questions outside and above the Constitution," while his colleague, Wigfall, maintained that individuals possessed no inalienable rights—a fallacy of the 18th century when "disorganism" of every description originated. On the other hand, Zebulon Vance, congressman from North Carolina, recognized at least one natural right, that of superiority which enabled one race to exploit another.<sup>35</sup>

The repudiation of the principle of the numerical majority and the denial of the existence of certain inalienable rights were tenets of the political philosophy of John C. Calhoun. It is no wonder then that Republicans came to the conclusion that his disciples had learned "to distrust the people, to hate universal suffrage, and to believe in aristocracy."<sup>36</sup> The champions of freedom saw, in the arraignment of free society and of free labor by a small group of pro-slavery advocates, additional and conclusive evidence of Southern repudiation of Jeffersonianism. This group justified slavery, not only on racial grounds, but also as the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, regardless of color; capital should own labor. Prominent in this group were George Fitzhugh of Virginia and Senator Hammond of South Carolina. Newspapers which advocated similar views concerning capital and labor were the *Richmond Examiner*, the *Richmond Enquirer*, and the *Charleston Mercury*. A Virginian<sup>37</sup> traveling in the North found that "they [Northerners] have a notion that labor is *not respectable* in the South—that the laboring man is looked upon as *below* his fellow man." This Northern impression of the Southern attitude toward free labor, and especially toward Northern free labor, was due largely to the expressions of the extreme pro-slavery group. In 1854, Fitzhugh published his *Sociology for the South*, in which he described the failure of free society everywhere and the corresponding success of the slave society of the South. His thesis was that free society based upon free competition and universal liberty was an illusion; that in such a society the selfish virtues were held in

<sup>35</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 1159.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 551. Remark of Ferry of Maine.

<sup>37</sup> *The Lexington (Va.) Gazette*, Nov. 13, 1856.

great repute; that it placed the weak, the poor, and the indigent at the mercy of the strong, the rich, and the thrifty; that it arrayed capital against labor, "a beautiful system of ethics . . . that places all mankind in antagonistic position and puts all society at war"; that it placed the whole burden of the social fabric upon the weak and ignorant; that crime, destitution, revolution, etc., followed in the wake of free society; and that socialism was a protest against its evils. The weakness of socialism, in Fitzhugh's opinion, was its effort to reform free society, instead of abolishing it and replacing it with a system of controlled labor, thereby eliminating the ruthless competition between capital and labor. The South had satisfactorily solved, he asserted, the problem of the relationship of capital and labor by her slave system in which the interests of the rich and poor, of master and slave, were identical. A well-conducted plantation was a model for socialists; it was, he exultantly wrote, a "sort of joint stock concern, or social phalanstery, in which the master furnishes the capital and skill, and the slaves the labor, and divides the profits, not according to each one's *in-put*, but according to each one's *wants and necessities*." Fitzhugh further declared that the break-up of feudalism and the dissolution of the monasteries were followed by the exploitation of the masses and challenged anyone to deny that crime and pauperism throughout western Europe increased *pari passu* with liberty, equality, and a free capitalistic society. The world needed "good government and plenty of it—not liberty"; modern liberty had substituted "a thousand wolves for a few lions." His ideas on free labor attracted attention throughout the nation, being cited especially by anti-slavery partisans as representative of the dominant opinion of the South. *The Richmond Enquirer*, Jan. 26, 1856, taunted the North about the failure of free society: "Often have we asked the North, are not the evils of FREE SOCIETY INSUFFERABLE? . . . Free society is in the long run an impractical form of society; it is everywhere starving, demoralized and revolutionary," and must be supplemented by a slave system. During the presidential campaign of 1856 the editor of the *Richmond Examiner* wrote: "We have got to hating everything with the prefix FREE—FREE farms, FREE labor, FREE society . . . and FREE schools—all belonging to the same

brood of damnable isms." The extreme, pro-slavery *Charleston Mercury* proclaimed that slavery was the natural condition of all laborers, white and black. The North was burdened with a servile class of "mechanics and laborers, unfit for self-government and yet clothed with the attributes and powers of citizens." The *Muscogee Herald* (Georgia) loathed the name of free society. "What is it," asked the editor, "but a conglomeration of GREASY MECHANICS, FILTHY OPERATIVES, SMALL-FISTED FARMERS, and MOON-STRUCK THEORISTS? All the Northern, and especially the New England States are devoid of society fitted for well-bred gentlemen." The *Lynchburg Republican*<sup>38</sup> recommended slavery as the "great peacemaker between capital and labor." Similar views were uttered in Congress by Southerners in the decade before the Civil War. Keitt<sup>39</sup> affirmed that "free society points to its civilization in the splendid aggregate: to its art and commerce; to its cities and its material monuments; but does not show us its array of starving operatives; its jails and fetid hospitals; its breadless boards, the vast reservoir of human life, poisoned in its well-springs and poured out like water." The classic exposition, however, from the extreme Southern point of view of the degrading character of Northern free labor, was the speech of Senator Hammond of South Carolina, "the Cicero of the new oligarchy," on March 4, 1858, in the Senate.<sup>40</sup>

In all social systems there must be a class to do the mean duties, to perform the drudgery of life. That is, a class requiring but a low order of intellect and but little skill. Its requisites are vigor, docility, fidelity. Such a class you must have, or you will not have that other class which leads progress, refinement, and civilization. It constitutes the very mud-sills of society and of political government. Fortunately for the South, she found a race adapted to that purpose. A race inferior . . . but eminently qualified in temper, vigor, in docility, in capacity . . . to answer all her purposes. We call them slaves . . .

The Senator from New York [Seward] said yesterday that the world had abolished slavery. Ay, the name, but not the thing; and all the powers of the world cannot abolish it. . . . In short, your whole class of manual laborers and operatives . . . are slaves. The dif-

<sup>38</sup> The quotations from the *Richmond Examiner*, the *Charleston Mercury*, and the *Muscogee Herald* are quoted in the *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 3 Sess., App., 369. That of the *Lynchburg Republican*, *ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 97.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 445.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 70.

ference between us is, that our slaves are hired for life, and well compensated . . . yours are hired by the day, not cared for, and scantily compensated.

Your slaves are white, of your race; you are brothers of one blood. They are your equals in natural endowment of intellect, and they feel galled by their degradation. Our slaves do not vote. . . . Yours do vote, being in the majority, they are the depositaries of all your political power.

While this anti-Jeffersonian belief in the degradation of free labor in a free society had become by 1860 an article of faith with the governing class of the South,<sup>41</sup> it is not to be inferred that Southern white labor was so regarded; on the contrary, instead of being stigmatized, it was praised as being elevating and ennobling. Much of the Southern discussion upon this subject, doubtless, was for home consumption, to prove to the non-slaveholders that they were better off in every respect than Northern free laborers and to canalize any unrest, if any existed or should develop in the future, of the non-slaveholders against the North. It must be remembered that Ruffnerism<sup>42</sup> in 1847 had challenged slavery in Virginia; and although it was soon forgotten, Helperism in 1857 had raised the same question throughout the South, though on a larger scale. Its espousal by the non-slaveholding class would doom slavery. Certainly from 1854 onwards in the heart of the Cotton Kingdom, there was a gnawing fear, perhaps at first unconscious, of the potential anti-slavery strength of the non-slaveholders. The endorsement of Helper's inflammatory book by prominent Republicans; Eli Thayer's proposal<sup>43</sup> to use the hated Emigrant Aid Society for the colonization of

<sup>41</sup> It must not be assumed that these extreme Southern views of Northern labor represent the opinion of the masses of the Southern non-slaveholders. Etheridge, Unionist congressman from East Tennessee, denounced such views (*ibid.*, 34 Cong., 3 Sess., App., 369), and Parson Brownlow, "though a Southern man in feeling and principles," did not consider it "degrading to a man to labor, as do most Southern disunionists. . . . I recognize the dignity of labor." W. G. Brownlow, *Sketches of the Rise, Progress, and the Decline of Secession* (Philadelphia, 1862), 17. When Yancey, campaigning in East Tennessee for Breckinridge in 1860, sneeringly remarked that Northern men and women performed menial functions, he alienated voters by his remark. J. W. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1934), 4.

<sup>42</sup> Henry Ruffner's "Address to the People of West Virginia" (Lexington, 1847). John Letcher endorsed this pamphlet, and when the South declared John Sherman unfit for the speakership of Congress in 1859 because of his endorsement of Helper's book, Helper, in exile in New York City, wrote a letter to the *New York Tribune*, entitled "Sherman and Letcher—Equality of Their Treason," in which he asked: "If the former is unfit to be elected speaker of the House of Representatives, is not the latter unfit to be inaugurated Governor of 'the mother of States'?" Letcher had just been elected governor of Virginia. *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 145.

<sup>43</sup> The *Richmond Enquirer* wrote that Virginia wanted none of Thayer's "codfish-eating barbarians of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard." Quoted in the *Gazette*, Lexington, Va., April 11, 1857.

Northern freemen in the border states, and particularly in Virginia; and the interest shown occasionally by anti-slavery leaders in the welfare of Southern non-slaveholders were confirmation to the slavocracy of a Republican purpose to disrupt the *entente cordiale* between slaveholders and non-slaveholders. As early as 1850, Horace Mann championed in Congress the Wilmot Proviso in the interests of the non-slaveholders. "The interests of the poorer classes at the South, all demand free territory," he asserted,<sup>44</sup> "where they can go and rise at once to an equality with their fellow citizens, which they can never do at home. They are natural Abolitionists, and unless blinded by ignorance or overawed by their social superiors, they will so declare themselves." "The poor privilege of emigrating to a new State and a free State," said Harlan<sup>45</sup> of Ohio, in opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, "should be preserved to the citizens of the South. . . ." "I believe you expect," proclaimed Clay<sup>46</sup> of Alabama to Republican Senators, "to excite discord among her [South's] sons, and to array against the slaveholders all who are not slaveholders, by persuading these that they are oppressed and wronged." Henry Wilson of Massachusetts confirmed Clay's suspicion when he [Wilson] expressed<sup>47</sup> the hope that the poor whites of the South, upon whom "the evils of slavery press with merciless force," would "inaugurate a policy that shall at least emancipate their posterity from a thralldom less endurable than the bondage of the black man. . . . Let the oppressed poor whites heed the voice and follow the councils of such a leader [F. P. Blair, whom Wilson called the non-slaveholders' champion], and the day of their deliverance from their galling degradation will soon dawn." Previously, Jefferson Davis had written,<sup>48</sup> December 7, 1855, to a Mississippi friend that "Aboli-

<sup>44</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 223. On Sept. 22, 1848, Mann wrote to S. J. May: "There are many people among the Southerners who are all ready to become hostile to the institution. . . . The first thing is to get their ear." *Life and Works of Horace Mann* (Boston, 1891), 272. See also pamphlets by G. M. Weston in *Republican Campaign Documents* (Washington, D. C., 1856) for a Republican view of Southern free labor.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 1007.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 149. Bonham of South Carolina warned the Helperites in Congress, Dec. 16, 1859, that when "you count upon the non-slaveholders of the South to overturn that institution, you reckon without your host."

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 173. Wilson had expressed the belief in the Republican National Convention, 1856, that "we shall have glorious allies in the South. . . . We shall have generous, brave, gallant men rise upon [up from] the South, who will . . . lay the foundations of a policy of emancipation. . . . These are our objects and these are our purposes." Quoted by Barksdale of Mississippi, *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 1182.

<sup>48</sup> Quoted in *Mississippi—Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861*, by P. L. Rainwater. Unpublished thesis, University of Chicago (1932).

tionism would gain but little in excluding slavery from the territories if it were never to disturb the institution in the States"—a revelation of the genuine fear of the slave masters of Black Republicanism.

While the spokesmen of the ruling class of the South feared that one of the aims of the Republican party was the creation of an anti-slavery party among the non-slaveholders, they indignantly combatted the suggestion that the non-slaveholders had no interest in the maintenance of slavery. Senator A. G. Brown of Mississippi, "the poor man's friend," asserted:<sup>49</sup>

The poorest laborer [of the South] . . . is on a social level with his fellows. The wives and daughters of our mechanics and the laboring men stand not an inch lower in the social scale than the wives and daughters of our governors, secretaries, and judges. . . . Mechanics, overseers, and honest laborers, of every kind, are taken into companionship, and treated, in all respects, as equals. . . . A whole community standing on a perfect level, and not one of them the tithe of a hair's breadth higher in the social scale than another. This is equality; this is social equality.

This type of equality did not exist, he assured Sumner of Massachusetts, in the free North.

Not only did slavery, according to Brown, offer to Southern free labor a social position superior to that enjoyed by Northern free labor, but Southern free labor enjoyed also superior economic advantages over Northern free labor. In the presidential campaign of 1860, Brown prepared an address to the non-slaveholders, entitled "What Interest Have the Non-Slaveholders of the South in the Slavery Question?" in which he contended that slavery did not antagonize free labor in the South, but, on the other hand, elevated and enabled it to secure higher wages for its labor than the free labor of the North. In other words, free

<sup>49</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 230. John H. Savage, likewise, pictured the favorable status of free white men in the South; they were all equal—"the honest laborer is universally respected. . . . Nothing would . . . arouse a southern community more than an attempt to degrade a free man. In the South, the poor man is respected for his color, while in the North wealth is the rule of distinction and poverty is scorned and excluded from the social circle to a far greater extent than with the southern people." *Ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 1035. Taylor of Louisiana said: "The same disparities in fortune exist among white men in the South as elsewhere; but they do not there give rise to the same distinctions in rank which always result from them where slavery does not exist." *Ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 232. He furthermore predicted that with the importation of Asiatics into the Pacific States, slavery would be established there.

society was inferior to slave society in respect to the rewards to free labor. The Senator reasoned in this manner:<sup>50</sup>

Non-slaveholders have been told . . . that slavery antagonizes with free labor; . . . that if there were no slaves, they would get better wages for their labor. On the contrary, I assert that slavery in the slave State is the assisting handmaid of free labor. In all free communities capital antagonizes directly with labor; and why? Because in such communities capital hires its labor, and is, therefore, interested in getting it at the lowest possible price. In slaveholding communities, capital, on the other hand, . . . owns its labor, and is interested in putting up the price of labor to the highest possible point. . . . Now let us see how the two systems work in practice.

A owns a hundred thousand dollars in Massachusetts, and chooses to employ it in manufacturing. He hires his labor, for the simple reason that the laws of his State do not allow him to buy and hold slaves. Now what is the first possible motive of A? Manifestly to hire his labor at the lowest possible point. B, on the other hand, a Mississippian, owns a hundred thousand dollars, and employs it in raising cotton. Instead of hiring he buys labor (slaves). Of course, his first great object is to buy at the lowest price; but this being done, his next and greatest object is to sell at the highest price. To this end, he directs all his talents, skill, and capital. He creates and keeps up markets for the sale of his products or the production of his slave labor and into these markets the non-slaveholder enters and sells on equal and often better terms.

Previously, Edmund Ruffin<sup>51</sup> had argued that the masses, both white and black, fared better under slavery than under free society. "If the prosperity and wealth of the higher classes, and the extent of trade and of riches of the country in general, are the sole objects sought," he wrote, "without any regard to increasing the destitution, misery, ignorance, and vice of the poor and the much larger number of the citizens—then I freely admit that the falsely so-called 'free labor' system is the best policy." But, if the purpose of society was a larger "individual share"

<sup>50</sup> *The Mississippian*, Oct. 10, 1860. Quoted in Rainwater, *op. cit.* Brown, in the Senate, Dec. 22, 1856, had declared that if he had the choice "today between an army of large slaveholders, and an army of non-slaveholders to defend the institutions of the South," he would take the latter. *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 3 Sess., App., 94.

<sup>51</sup> "Slavery and Free Labor" (1859). Toombs in his Boston speech, Jan. 24, 1856, contended that the well-being of the Southern slave compared favorably with that of the free laborer of the North. He stated that "under a system of free labor, wages are usually paid in money, the representatives of products—under ours in products themselves. . . . All experience has shown that . . . it is safer for the laborer to take his wages in products than in their fluctuating pecuniary value. Therefore, if we pay in the necessities and comforts of life more than any given amount of pecuniary wages will bring, then our laborer is paid higher than the laborer who receives that amount of wages," and the laborer under a system of domestic slavery receives then a greater portion of the earnings of labor than under a system of free competition. Cluskey, *op. cit.*

of goods and commodities, the rewards of labor, "bond or free," then he was convinced that these could be better obtained by the masses, white and black, under a system of controlled labor than under a free competitive society animated by rugged individualism.

While a slave Confederacy was in the making in the South, De Jarnette of Virginia delivered the last speech in Congress on the failure of free society. The plight of the country at that time was attributed by him to the Northern "mud-sills" who were about to take control of the Federal Government; Lincoln's election was their apotheosis. While Northern free society, in De Jarnette's opinion, was being shattered by its own "mud-sills," the South was creating a new government based on slave labor, in which free labor would be a conservative element, in contrast to the radical proclivities of the free labor of the North. "Thus, African Slavery," he concluded,<sup>52</sup> "constitutes the keystone of the arch which supports the only structure which free labor together with free suffrage will not and cannot destroy. . . . It is thus that . . . slavery elevates and dignifies the free labor of the South by freeing it of all menial services. Thus relieved, that labor constitutes a valuable social and political element," wholly lacking in free society.

These Southern aspersions upon Northern labor were bitterly resented by the Republicans, and, in Congress, Wilson of Massachusetts, "the Natick Cobbler," Hamlin of Maine, Doolittle of Wisconsin, son of a "mud-sill," Blair of Missouri, Banks of Massachusetts, and others rushed into the breach and counter-attacked with vigor. Wilson, pronouncing Hammond's views strange ones to be uttered in the "councils of this democratic republic," reviewed at length the progress made by free labor in the free North, and asseverated<sup>53</sup> that the "men who have been, or who now are, 'hireling' laborers have contributed more to the arts, the sciences, the literature of America than the whole class of slaveholders now living in the South." Returning to the same subject later, he stated<sup>54</sup> that the workingmen of Massachusetts alone had \$45,000,000 more on bank deposits than all the slave

<sup>52</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 943 (February 15, 1861).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 149.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 1092 (February 21, 1861).

masters of the then seceding states. Doolittle asked<sup>55</sup> the Senate: "Am I to be told on the floor of the Senate, that because my father was a poor laboring man when he commenced the great battle of life, I am to be regarded as the son of a slave?" "They are the State," was Hamlin's tribute to the "mud-sills" of his section, and Pottle of New York informed his colleagues that the "mud-sills" themselves occupied seats in Congress and were the "peers of all who represent" the slave interest. Senator Ben Wade of Ohio denied that the free labor of the North was "your prostrate mud-sill, deprived of those rights which God Almighty has given him, trampled under foot. . . ." He admitted,<sup>56</sup> however, the presence in Northern as well as in Southern cities of a thriftless element, "the offscourings of the old world," but they were the political allies of the slavocracy—"the chief cornerstone of your political strength of the North. . . . They are naturally with you; they were slaves in their own countries; they do not know anything else than to be understrappers of somebody." But this element, he insisted, should not be confused with the free, independent, laboring class of the free states.

Lincoln's speech before the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, September 30, 1859, was an answer to the Southern philosophy of labor. He refuted<sup>57</sup> the contention that capital and labor were antagonistic to each other by arguing that, with few exceptions, the great majority of people, North and South, were neither employers nor employees, but mingled their own labor with their capital; and he denied the allegation that the position of free labor was degrading and fixed for life, and that labor and education were incompatible. "In fact, it is deemed a misfortune" by the "mud-sill" philosophers, Lincoln facetiously suggested, "that laborers should have heads at all. These same heads are regarded as explosive materials. . . . A Yankee who could invent a strong-handed man without a head would receive the everlasting gratitude of the 'mud-sill' advocates."

The Republican party in its advocacy of the Wilmot Proviso and its opposition to the Dred Scott decision asserted its position on these issues as more in conformity with Jeffersonianism

<sup>55</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 960.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 1112.

<sup>57</sup> Nicholay and Hay, *op. cit.*, I, 581.

than that of the Democratic party. Congressional exclusion of slavery from the territories, the anti-slavery men maintained, was a Jeffersonian principle, first incorporated by Jefferson, himself, in the Northwest Ordinance. The Wilmot Proviso was often referred to by Republicans as the "Jefferson proviso" or the "territorial policy of Jefferson"; and the mighty free West was cited as a vindication of this policy.

It is interesting to note at least two Southern replies to this contention. Toombs, in debate and on the rostrum, maintained always that the Northwest Ordinance was not a precedent for congressional prohibition of slavery in the territories because it was a compact between the state of Virginia, the people of that territory, and the then (Old Confederation) government of the United States, unalterable, except by the consent of all parties. When the first Congress under the new Constitution met, March 4, 1789, it merely assented to the government of that territory already established and provided for in the Ordinance, without any reference to that particular section of the Ordinance prohibiting slavery. "If the original compact," he said at Boston, "was void for want of power in the old government to make it, as Mr. Madison supposed, Congress may not have been bound to accept it; it certainly had no power to alter it. From these facts it is clear that this legislation for the Northwest territory . . . does not furnish a precedent for hostile legislation by Congress against slavery in the territories."<sup>58</sup> Senator Mason of Virginia denied that this Ordinance was a charter of "Republican freedom from our fathers," but insisted that its primary object was to discourage the importation of slaves by limiting the area into which slavery might spread, and not to restrict the spread of slavery. Restriction of slavery was an incident, not a principle, of the Northwest Ordinance.<sup>59</sup> The South claimed, then, that Jefferson, instead of being a slave restrictionist, was a slave expansionist; that he acquired a slave empire and protected both slavery already there and that which came into the territory after its acquisition; and that during the controversy over the Missouri compromise he had opposed the right of Congress "to

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<sup>58</sup> Cluskey, *op. cit.*

<sup>59</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 76.

regulate the condition of different descriptions of men composing a State.”<sup>60</sup> As a matter of fact, Jefferson favored the diffusion of slavery in 1820, not for the purpose of perpetuating it, as the Southerners later inferred, but to promote the cause of emancipation.

In their acceptance of the Dred Scott decision, the Southern Democrats were charged by some Republicans with embracing the old Federalist doctrine of judicial infallibility—the *bête noire* of Thomas Jefferson. The alleged acceptance of this anti-Jeffersonian doctrine by Southern slave masters was synchronous with Republican Wisconsin’s defiance of the fugitive slave law, which she nullified in 1859 by legislation. The old Jefferson idea that the state courts were coequal and coördinate with the Federal courts was employed by Doolittle, senator from Wisconsin, “reared in the republican school of Jefferson,” in his defense<sup>61</sup> of his State in her States’-rights, nullification conduct. After recounting that one of the objects of the old Republican party under Jefferson’s leadership was to resist the assumed power of the Federal Supreme Court, Doolittle charged that the Democratic party of 1860 had embraced with the “ardor of new converts the most federal of all the dogmas of the old Federal school.”

Through all the multitudinous public forums where these issues were discussed—freedom or slavery, the character of American democracy, free society or slave society, the majority of numbers or of interests, the ghosts of Jefferson and Calhoun stalked like Banquos. To anti-slavery advocates, Jefferson was the apostle of freedom and human equality; to slavery protagonists, Calhoun was the great patriot and statesman. Both of these Southern slave masters believed in the superiority of their race; Jefferson would not, however, agree that that superiority conferred upon his race the right to enslave the black race. He would separate the two races so completely as to make amalgamation an impossibility. Calhoun, on the other hand, invoked the dogma of white superiority as a justification of black slavery; and since slavery was the normal condition of Negroes, because

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<sup>60</sup> Letter to John Holmes, April 20, 1820.

<sup>61</sup> *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., App., 126.

of their inferiority, separation of the races would be disastrous to the blacks in every respect and to the whites, economically at least: the former would certainly revert to savagery and barbarism. Jefferson<sup>62</sup> trembled for his country when he reflected that "God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever. . . . The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest" between freedom and slavery. Calhoun trembled for the welfare of the whites of his section when he contemplated the dire results of emancipation. In 1820 both Jefferson and Calhoun witnessed the first sectional controversy over slavery. The perspicacious Jefferson took a gloomy view of its outcome, regarding it as the death-knell of the Union; Calhoun, at that time, did not share Jefferson's gloom, although in old age (1850) he urged the South either to demand constitutional guaranties to insure the safety of slavery or to dissolve the Union. Jefferson in 1820 held to his early views of emancipation and expatriation of the blacks, but he realized at the same time the difficulties confronting the South. "We have the wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him nor let him go," was the Southern dilemma which Jefferson saw clearly and which he hoped to solve by diffusion and expansion of slavery in order to weaken it so that emancipation and colonization<sup>63</sup> would eventually result. Calhoun after 1837 championed, too, the expansion of slavery; but his motive, different from Jefferson's, was to strengthen and perpetuate slavery. Calhoun's ideal of the purpose of expansion was to prevail in the South, and in the 1850's expansion to the slavocracy was the very warp and woof of its existence. "When Jefferson died [1826], Virginia wept but not loudly; when Calhoun's body was carried to Charleston in April, 1850, the State mourned as though each man had lost his father."<sup>64</sup> In the

<sup>62</sup> *Notes on Virginia* (Richmond, 1853), 175.

<sup>63</sup> The revival of the Jeffersonian interest in colonization by certain western Republicans deserves passing notice. While the extreme anti-slavery element in the Republican party, apparently, gave but little consideration to the racial consequences for the South of the emancipation of the blacks, some Western Republicans, especially the Blairs and Doolittle, showed an appreciation of the Southern problem which would result from emancipation, and suggested the acquisition of portions of Central America for the settlement of the emancipated blacks. Doolittle would take tropical America with a "friendly hand" instead of with the "hand of the filibuster" and colonize the emancipated slaves there, "to enjoy both social and political equality" with the natives of that region where color was no degradation. *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 1632. Lincoln in 1862 entertained seriously proposals of colonization in that region. In other words, the Blairs, Doolittle, and Lincoln thought, like Jefferson, that the two races could not live peacefully together after emancipation. Nicholay and Hay, *op. cit.*, II, 223.

<sup>64</sup> W. E. Dodd, *Statesmen of the Old South* (New York, 1911), 91.

period from 1820 to 1860 the political idealism of Jeffersonianism had been discarded by the governing class in the South; the axioms of Jeffersonian democracy had been supplanted by those of an "Africanized" democracy; and only the Jeffersonian doctrine of States' rights remained to justify secession.

# THE FOUNDATION AND FAILURE OF THE SILK INDUSTRY IN PROVINCIAL GEORGIA

By MARGUERITE B. HAMER

"Silk is one of the most profitable works that a Plantation can go upon," wrote Sir Francis Bacon out of the depths of his renowned wisdom. The effort of England to free herself from dependence on the Italian-finished silk led to the erection in 1719 of an engine at Derby to throw raw silk into organzine, a wiry, compact thread. Following a Sardinian embargo on the export of raw silk, England was desirous of cultivating the unfinished product somewhere in her own dominions. Silk had already been experimented with in Virginia. But skillful Italian instructors were not available, and Virginia gave over the "Gallant Silken Trade" and substituted a "contemptible, beggarly, Indian weed."

The "Silken White-Winged Fly" veered southward to Carolina and "the Golden Islands." Early in the eighteenth century silk was produced in Azalia, the region south of the Savannah River, according to "Trials" which were made by Colonel John Barnwell and his neighbors.<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Lombe, a proprietor of the Derby silk-throwing engine, was delighted with American specimens which reached him. ". . . the silk produced in Carolina," he announced, "has as much natural strength and beauty as the silk of Italy."<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Martyn, a silk merchant and later the secretary of the Trustees who controlled Georgia, urged governmental support for the projected American venture. Great Britain could import raw silk from her own dominions and so become independent of the manufactured Italian product. ". . . the balance of the Italian trade," wrote Martyn, "is every year above three hundred pounds against us. . . . And this balance is occasioned by the large importation of silk bought here by our ready money, though we can raise raw silk of equal goodness in Georgia, and are now enabled to work it up in as great perfection as the Italians themselves. . . . The country produces white mulberry trees wild and in great abun-

<sup>1</sup> Pamphlet, *Description of the Golden Islands*, London, 1720.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Lombe to the Trustees of Georgia in Benjamin Martyn's *Reasons for the Establishment of Georgia*, 1733.

dance. The air is also proper for the silk worm."<sup>3</sup> A group of London silk enthusiasts was willing to make an experiment in the western world. As a field of operations, the unoccupied region south of the Savannah River suggested itself. Governmental as well as economic control was secured by a charter granted to the trustees by His Majesty's government for twenty-one years.

The first great problem which confronted the trustees was the peopling of their wilderness colony. The expense of transporting Europeans to Georgia being considerable, the trustees welcomed an offer of free transportation for certain persons from the continent. The offer came in the fall of 1732 from The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. The objects of the society's benevolence were persecuted Protestants from the Saltza region in Austria. The society stipulated that the families from Salzburg be settled together in one town in the prospective colony.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, they were given lands along the Savannah River at Ebenezer, where they were later joined by 157 German Protestants under the supervision of the famous Bavarian, William Gerard Von Brahm. Meanwhile English and Scotch colonists had been established at Savannah. The Teutonic and British groups remained so definitely apart that as late as the eve of the Revolution the people at Ebenezer could speak no English.

The colonists were of interest to the trustees only as the prospective producers of raw silk. To all their land grants the trustees attached conditions concerning the planting of a proper number of mulberry trees, which were to be fenced and preserved from the "Bite and Spoil of Cattle."<sup>5</sup> Ten years were allowed for the cultivation of one hundred white mulberry trees on every ten acres of land. If six hundred acres were not cleared within ten years, the whole grant was to revert to the trustees. The Reverend John Martin Bolzius, the minister of the Ebenezer group and the faithful servant of the trustees, supplied his flock with five thousand mulberry plants for which the trustees had paid one pound and six shillings, and encouraged

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Lambe to the Trustees of Georgia in Benjamin Martyn's *Reasons for the Establishment of Georgia*, 1733.

<sup>4</sup> *Colonial Records of Georgia* (hereafter to be referred to as *C. R. G.*), Vol. I, p. 77, October 12, 1733.

<sup>5</sup> Mar. 9, 1740, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 33, p. 136.

them to sow large spots of good ground with mulberry seed for young trees.<sup>6</sup> As an incentive, Bolzius offered a premium of one shilling for each tree which should bear one hundred leaves.<sup>7</sup> The trustees sent over to the colonists not only seeds for mulberry trees, but silkworm seeds from Italy. Half of these were entrusted to Bolzius for his flock at Ebenezer.<sup>8</sup>

The trustees had the further task of instructing their settlers so that the work of raising the mulberry trees, feeding the leaves to the silkworms, stifling the chrysalis in the cocoons, and unwinding the silk from the cocoons might "be made easy to the meanest capacity."<sup>9</sup> A silk expert in London, at the instance of the trustees, prepared instructions for cultivating mulberry trees. Twenty-five books of "the compendious account of the art of raising and nursing the silk worms and mulberry trees" were sent to Georgia. Five of the books were given to the Salzburghers, who evidently read them to advantage, for they became "well disposed" to the art of winding off silk. In fact, "their industry and care proclaimed them superior to the other peoples."<sup>10</sup>

The books of instructions may have been adequate for the ambitious Salzburghers, but down at Savannah the British populace gave no encouragement to their distant patrons. The trustees, therefore, proceeded to procure for them instructors from Northern Italy. Then, as now, Italy was the home of

<sup>6</sup> Bolzius to Martyn, October 17, 1749, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 25, p. 429; January 5, 1751, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 26, p. 131.

<sup>7</sup> A hundred years ago a Southern agricultural journal estimated that fifteen hundred mulberry trees six years old would produce each thirty pounds of leaves, which would amount to forty-five thousand pounds, and that one acre of full-grown mulberry trees would produce forty pounds of silk. *Southern Agriculturist*, May, 1835, p. 266. A sericulturist experimenting in Texas, Dr. Vartan K. Osgian, Doctor of Sericulture of the University of Armenia, had forty acres in Texas in mulberry trees. The first year he produced four hundred pounds of cocoons; the third year, one thousand pounds of cocoons. *Houston, Texas, Chronicle*, Jan. 26, 1919.

<sup>8</sup> Verelst to the president and assistants, January 13, 1749, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, p. 388.

<sup>9</sup> The silkworm passes through four stages: egg, larva, chrysalis, moth. He is the aristocrat of insects. He will not make any effort to reach his food. It must be brought to him. Silkworms are kept under roof and "cared for like members of the family." As soon as the leaf of the mulberry begins to unfold it is time to expose the eggs to hatch. . . . As soon as the worm begins to appear, young and tender mulberry leaves should be laid over them. They ought to be supplied with fresh, tender leaves three times a day. The worm eats mulberry leaves for twenty-five days, then spins his cocoon. He does his spinning in three days and three nights, making three thousand revolutions in this brief period. He spins a thread of silk 1,811 yards long. He remains in his silken house for nine days before he goes into the chrysalis state, where he remains nine days more and comes out a beautiful moth. Nowadays the chrysalis may be killed in the cocoon by passing chemicals through the walls of its silken house, but in an earlier day the chrysalis was stifled by boiling or baking. American Silk Association, New York City.

<sup>10</sup> *C. R. G.*, Vol. 30, p. 581.

skilled sericulturists.<sup>11</sup> On March 15, 1733, the Common Council of the Trustees in the vestry room of St. Mary De Bow Church in Cheapside agreed that Nicholas Amatis and his wife and three children be brought to Georgia to demonstrate the raising of raw silk. A salary for four years at the rate of twenty-five pounds per annum was to be allowed Amatis on condition that "he discovers the secret of making the raw silk to such persons as shall be appointed for that purpose."<sup>12</sup> Mr. Amatis was assisted by his "servants," the family of Jacques (James Lewis) Camuse. Four orphans, two from the southern part of the colony and two from the northern part, were "to be put to Mrs. Camuse," "it being very necessary to have persons instructed therein in the case of Mrs. Camuse's Death." For the first two years Mrs. Camuse's salary from the trustees was sixty pounds for each year. For the remaining four years of her service the trustees paid her one hundred pounds in addition to giving her a dwelling at Savannah. Furthermore, the trustees promised her a future comfortable provision in case she should be incapable of work herself.<sup>13</sup> Mrs. Camuse received moreover a stipend of two pounds for each person that she instructed, and five pounds additional when her pupils were completely instructed, as well as an allowance of ten pounds a year for the maintaining and clothing of each of them; five shillings a week "for their Diet" was to be paid to Mrs. Camuse for eight young women selected to be sent from Ebenezer, recommended by Bolzius. Mrs. Camuse was succeeded by Joseph Ottolenghi, a native of Piedmont, "fitly qualified to promote the culture of silk."<sup>14</sup> Ottolenghi and a friend who accompanied him were given fifty acres of land free, and three years subsistence at eight pence a day, "in consideration of their using their utmost endeavors to promote the Culture of Silk in Georgia." Ottolenghi received in addition an annual stipend from the Society for Propagating the Gospel.<sup>15</sup> Later, to stimulate the production in Savannah, the trustees sent Mr. Pickering Robinson to

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<sup>11</sup> At the end of the World War, the new Hungarian government on opening a new filature made it a rule "to introduce a certain number of skilled hands from Italy for the instruction of the local operatives." *Publications of the League of Nations*, II, Economic and Financial, 1927, pp. 11, 15.

<sup>12</sup> Verelst to Oglethorpe, June 11, 1740, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 30, p. 263.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Martyn to Stephens, May 10, 1743, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 30, p. 512.

<sup>15</sup> August 27, 1750, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 1, pp. 552, 556.

France "to learn Silk" and then to proceed to Georgia to superintend the culture there. The trustees allotted him land near Savannah and a salary of one hundred pounds in addition to twenty-five pounds for a clerk.

The trustees had always intended that the silk should be the special province of the women, while the men should be left free to perform the sterner tasks of clearing wilderness lands. As an incentive, the trustees made an offer to the effect that after May 29, 1749, forty shillings should be paid to every woman in the province of Georgia who within one year should acquire the art of winding silk.<sup>16</sup> In 1750, fourteen young women from Ebenezer proved to the satisfaction of Bolzcius and his wife that they had "learnt the art of Winding to a good degree of Perfection."<sup>17</sup> According to thirty-nine French appraisers in London, "the Georgia silk was well adopted [sic] to the Weavers use," which was a proof that the hands employed in drawing silk from the cocoons in Georgia had been "well taught in a right method of making good, clean, even silk."<sup>18</sup> Martyn wrote from London: "The Saltzburghers have come to such a perfection that many of our most eminent silk merchants declare the silk made by them to be equal to the best that is brought from any part of the world."<sup>19</sup>

The art of winding silk was not an easy one to acquire; the trustees encouraged the "less brisk and intelligent" women by a bounty on the number and quality of cocoons brought to the filature to be baked. The price which the trustees paid for the cocoons varied from time to time. In 1748, they agreed to pay one shilling for every pound of sixteen ounces of cocoons of the first sort containing only one worm. The next year the bounty on these cocoons of the first sort was doubled. One shilling was paid for cocoons of the second class which were spotted or bruised; only eight pence were to be paid for cocoons which contained two worms.<sup>20</sup> The price on the silk reeled from the cocoons varied from fourteen shillings for silk of the first sort made from five or six cocoons and twelve shillings for silk of

<sup>16</sup> February 22, 1748, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 1, p. 528.

<sup>17</sup> Bolzcius to Verelst, July 4, 1750, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 25, p. 500.

<sup>18</sup> March 29, 1755, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 27, p. 317.

<sup>19</sup> Martyn to president and assistants, November 23, 1749, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, p. 355.

<sup>20</sup> March 16, 1748, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 33, p. 386; November 16, 1749, Vol. 1, p. 539.

the second sort made from seven or eight cocoons, to six shillings for silk in which two or three worms intermixed.<sup>21</sup> The trustees paid the following daily wage to employees at the filature: reelers, one and six to three shillings; sorters and turners, one shilling.<sup>22</sup> The trustees decided that the art of winding silk should be taught not only to white women, but also to Negroes, and so drew up this resolution: "every man who shall have four male Negroes shall be obliged to have for every such four one female Negro instructed in the art of winding silk."<sup>23</sup>

The entire equipment used in the process of reducing the cocoons to wound silk had been installed by the trustees. In the filature the cocoons were treated so that the chrysalis could be stifled by heat and so prevented from eating a way out of the cocoon and thereby breaking the threads.<sup>24</sup> The cocoons were stifled in copper basins in fresh boiling water which was changed at least four times a day in order to make the silk bright. Wells to supply the water and a shed for storing firewood were all added at the trustees' expense, together with machines for unwinding the silk.<sup>25</sup>

The immediate results of the experiment were encouraging: the amounts of silk exported from Georgia varied from year to year, as in 1735 from eight pounds; 1746, ninety-five pounds sixty ounces; 1747, thirty-nine pounds eighty ounces; 1749, seventy-four pounds twenty ounces, to 700 pounds in 1758 and 10,000 pounds in 1759.<sup>26</sup>

Prominent English sericulturists approved of the Georgia silk. The trustees consigned to Samuel Lloyd, their silk expert, boxes of Georgia silk to be organized and disposed of to weavers to be worked up into pieces of silk. Lloyd observed the Georgia skeins in their course through the several operations at the mills at Derby and reported favorably to the trustees' accountant, Herman Verelst. Sir Thomas Lombe found them "entirely to

<sup>21</sup> August 12, 1751, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 1, p. 564.

<sup>22</sup> Board of Trade to Lords Justice, July 9, 1752, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 39, p. 200.

<sup>23</sup> *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, p. 313.

<sup>24</sup> The escape of the moth breaks so many threads that cocoons are ruined for reeling, and therefore when ten days old, all those not intended for seed are placed in a steam heater to stifle the chrysalis, and the silk may then be reeled at any future time. One moth lays from three to four hundred eggs. It takes from 2,500 to 3,000 to make a pound of reeled silk. Newspaper clippings preserved at the American Silk Association, New York City; Corticelli, "Silk Mills," p. 25; *Southern Agriculturist*, May, 1835, p. 264.

<sup>25</sup> Verelst to President of the Board of Trade, Mar. 23, 1746, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, p. 140.

<sup>26</sup> Verelst to president and assistants, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, pp. 240, 552; Vol. 33, p. 485.

his satisfaction." Silk experts agreed that the Georgia silk wound "exceeding well." The skeins were "remarkable, and as clean, even, fine and good as any real Piedmont." Thirty-nine manufacturers and traders, for the most part Frenchmen, pronounced 300 pounds of Georgia raw silk "truly good" in nature and texture.<sup>27</sup> John Zachary, an eminent raw silk merchant, pronounced the Georgia silk "of as good a Quality—as any we have from Italy." At a trustees' meeting it was reported that authentic proofs had established the Georgia silk as "being in goodness equal to any silk ever imported from Italy, Persia, Turkey, or India."<sup>28</sup>

It was further contended that the quantity of silk reeled from the Georgia cocoons was one-third more than the quantity of silk reeled in Italy from the same number of cocoons. Eleven pounds of silk cocoons in Georgia produced from twenty-two and one-half to twenty-four and one-half ounces of net silk. In Italy the usual quantity of silk from eleven pounds of cocoons was about sixteen ounces.

Georgia possessed a further advantage over Italy in that her climate was "more happily adapted to the raising of silk than even any Part of Italy." The worms in Georgia were produced almost six weeks sooner than those in Italy. Too, the mulberry trees in Georgia grew quickly, shooting from twelve to fifteen feet in a year. Moreover, Georgia possessed in abundance the wood necessary to be burned under the copper basins, whereas in Italy wood was "as costly as each day's reeling of silk," which was one pound and six shillings.<sup>29</sup> Finally, the Georgia silk brought more at public auction than did the Italian silk.<sup>30</sup> At the exchange coffee houses it sold at twenty shillings and twenty shillings four pence per pound of sixteen ounces, which was higher than the price paid for most Italian silks.<sup>31</sup> At one time the Georgia silk sold for as much as two pounds six shillings more than the Italian.<sup>32</sup> Naturally their honours, the trustees, experienced "a great satisfaction in encouraging so noble and

<sup>27</sup> Pamphlet, A Letter of Samuel Lloyd, Mar. 7, 1747, printed in Sermon by Thoresby, 1748.

<sup>28</sup> Meeting of the Trustees, Mar. 16, 1748, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 33, p. 377.

<sup>29</sup> Martyn to Board of Trade, June 18, 19, 1752, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 33, pp. 568, 570, 572.

<sup>30</sup> Martyn to Henry Parker, Mar. 8, 1752, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, p. 568; Martyn to Board of Trade, June 19, 1752, *ibid.*, Vol. 33, p. 570.

<sup>31</sup> Martyn to Robinson, Mar. 16, 1752, *ibid.*, Vol. 31, p. 581.

<sup>32</sup> MS., Wright to Board of Trade, Aug. 6, 1764, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part II, p. 93.

useful a business as Silk manufacture."<sup>33</sup> In May, 1751, 6,300 pounds of cocoons were received at the filature at Savannah. Of these, 2,000 were sent from Ebenezer. Public auction of the silk raised in Georgia on March 16, 1751, sold at twenty shillings and two shillings four pence a pound of sixteen ounces.<sup>34</sup> The trustees declared: "No encouragement will be wanting to carry on the culture to such a height as may soon make the province of Georgia the most considerable in North America."<sup>35</sup>

In June, 1752, the trustees surrendered their charter in a burst of optimism. Georgia would "soon prove a beneficial colony to Great Britain—for its Produce of Silk." The new managers of the colony, the Board of Trade and Plantations, were "extreamly well disposed to encourage—the culture of silk."<sup>36</sup> Martyn predicted that such would be the progress made in the silk culture that the province of Georgia would not only be able to support its own government, but even make such returns to its mother country as to "more than compensate for all the expense of its establishment."<sup>37</sup>

The new seal of His Majesty's province approved in council August 6, 1754, indicated that silk was still looked to as the source of success. The seal showed a figure representing the genius of the province on his knees offering to an effigy representing His Majesty a skein of silk. This inscription was under the effigies: *Hinc laudem sperate coloni*.<sup>38</sup>

During the five years from 1756 to 1761, Georgia produced 2,989 pounds weight of raw silk.<sup>39</sup> In 1762, Governor Wright wrote to the Board of Trade: "this has been a very favourable season for the silk culture. There has been delivered into the Filature, 15,101 pound weight of cocoons. Mr. Ottolenghi tells me they are the best he has yet received and exceed the greatest

<sup>33</sup> Verelst to Board of Trade, Sept. 29, 1748, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 25, p. 469. In the first season, June 9, 1733, to Sept. 9, 1734, the trustees spent on their colony for the production of raw silk, 358 pounds two shillings six pence, of which 160 pounds six shillings and four pence were spent in America. From 1746 to 1748, the charges on raw silk received from Georgia and the working of it into orgazine, tram, and knittings was thirty-four pounds twelve shillings and eleven pence.

<sup>34</sup> Verelst to Bolzius, Nov. 24, 1749; Martyn to Bolzius, Mar. 16, 1752, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, pp. 369, 567.

<sup>35</sup> Martyn to Robinson, Mar. 16, 1752, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, p. 581.

<sup>36</sup> Martyn to Habersham, Jan. 4, 1752, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, pp. 561, 562.

<sup>37</sup> Martyn to Board of Trade, June 19, 1752, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 33, p. 580.

<sup>38</sup> Board of Trade report to His Majesty, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 33, p. 608.

<sup>39</sup> The number of pounds of cocoons delivered at Savannah were for the years 1757, 1,050; 1758, 7,040; 1759, 10,000; and 1760, 15,000. Wright to Board of Trade, June 10, 1762, *MS. C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part I, p. 566.

quantity ever made here by about 5,100 pounds and the quality of the silk is good and fine." Even after the Stamp Act had aroused the people on both sides of the ocean, the council in Georgia decided that "the silk culture is in a flourishing state at Present [April, 1765] and that there seems to be a very Proper spirit and disposition in the people for advancing that Culture."<sup>40</sup>

Was it the Revolutionary War now brewing which destroyed the trade which created the colony of Georgia? Or can causes for failure be discerned long before the outbreak of the War of Independence?

The trustees, like the lady in *King Lear*, did protest too much. Failure, already apparent, was due to the following difficulties: inability to secure satisfactory labor, quarrels of the instructors with the colonial officials, mismanagement, inadequate equipment, such as ill-constructed filatures, basins, wells, and houses for the cocoons, failure to secure fresh importation of good seed, rivalry with South Carolina, competition with other crops within Georgia itself, the early springs followed by late frosts killing the young leaves, and finally, the bounty and the changing methods of its application. These several reasons which explain the failure of the silk industry in the province of Georgia may be arranged into two categories: the difficulties peculiar to the industry itself, such as those concerning mulberry trees, the seed, the climate, and the rivalry with adjoining communities and with other crops. Secondly, there should be listed difficulties common to any industry: labor problems, mismanagement, inadequate equipment, and financial problems.

Realizing the need of mulberry leaves, the one food of the silkworm, the trustees had insisted upon the planting of a given number of trees that would yield the magic leaves. White, rather than black, mulberry was selected, in accordance with the experience of Italian and French sericulturists.<sup>41</sup> Unfortunate conditions, the swampy nature of the coast land (the up-country was then too remote), and unforeseen droughts, did not conduce to the cultivation of the trees. These misfortunes too often

<sup>40</sup> Wright to Board of Trade, April 23, 1765, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part II, p. 68.

<sup>41</sup> In 1740, the conditions in early grants were modified so that only five of fifty acres of ground need be cultivated within ten years, and possessors of 500 acres were obliged to plant only one hundred trees for every ten years of possession.

sadly resulted in a want of leaves and the consequent starvation of the worms, as in the year 1736, when instead of the contemplated thirty pounds of silk only four pounds were produced. Stephens, the trustees' manager in Georgia, was "sorry to see so desirable a Work nip't, as it were, in the Bud and languishing for want of mulberry leaves."<sup>42</sup> Two years later, again for want of leaves, the worms "sickened and dy'd," and a computed forty pounds of silk did not materialize.<sup>43</sup> By the year 1751 the number of trees was still "far short of what have been expected considering the length of time that the colony had been settled." Many that had been planted had become choked with brush or were destroyed while young and low by cattle, deer, and horses. Moreover, many trees were ruined "by too repeated Removalls." Even in the trustees' garden, the trees produced few leaves because of severe prunings and transplantings, and so the worms died for the want of their only food.<sup>44</sup>

The dearth of the essential leaves was caused by unfortunate climatic conditions. Sudden changes of temperature could wreck the year's harvest. An early spring followed by a late frost killed the tender leaves and so "deprived the young early hatched creatures of their wholesome food,"<sup>45</sup> causing them to "sicken and dye by Bushells;" consequently fewer cocoons were raised. From 1763 to 1766 "cold rains the latter end of April made the Worms turn sickly" so that quantities of them "dyed." In 1769 cold rains succeeded by black frosts in the middle of April destroyed the worms. In 1772, "a very sudden Transition of the Weather from Heat to cold chilled the Mulberry Leaf" and again occasioned great numbers of worms to die.<sup>46</sup> These sudden changes "from extreemly [sic] cold to very hot Weather" affected not only the tender leaves, but also the silkworms, which were often prematurely hatched from the seed.<sup>47</sup> The several

<sup>42</sup> Stephens to the Trustees, January 19, 1737, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 22, Part I, p. 76.

<sup>43</sup> Mrs. Martha Causton to the Trustees, April 12, 1738, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 26, Part I, p. 22.

<sup>44</sup> Stephens to Martyn, July 19, 1750, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 26, p. 24; Bolzious to Verelst, May 16, 1749, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 25, p. 377.

<sup>45</sup> An agriculturist writes in 1834 concerning the Georgia climate: "our mulberry trees put out very early in the spring and the silk worm eggs are equally precocious. We generally have a frost in April, very often severe enough to kill totally the mulberry leaf. The worm is then left to perish for the want of food. . . . the only remedy for this evil is to have an ice-house where the eggs can be kept until late in April." *Southern Agriculturist*, January, 1834.

<sup>46</sup> MS., Memorial of Knox, 1762; Wright to the Lords of Trade, Sept. 7, 1763; Habersham to Hillsborough, Aug. 12, 1772, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part I, pp. 579, 710; Part II, p. 297; Part I, p. 5.

<sup>47</sup> Ottolenghi to Martyn, June 13, 1754, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 27, p. 309.

governors of Georgia complained of these unfortunate climatic conditions. Governor Reynolds regretted the "extraordinary sudden changes of the weather" which affected the silkworms disastrously. Governor Ellis found the "inequality of the climate—such that sharp frosts succeed the warmest days to the certain destruction of these tender Reptiles."<sup>48</sup> Governor Wright lamented "the destruction of the whole supply in a nights time by excessive hard and unseasonable frosts." Governor Habersham recommended the raising of silk where the climate was more equable.<sup>49</sup>

Even more difficult than the spring of the year was the excessive summer heat, which presented a problem in the transporting of cocoons. When the Germans up the river sent their cocoons down to Savannah in boats, the heat and humidity and crowded conditions of the cocoons resulted in those on the bottom being smothered and bruised, and thus the worms in the middle ate through the cocoons.<sup>50</sup> The Georgia climate was trying not only to worms and leaves, but to persons as well. Manager Ottolenghi complained: "the great Heat, which this climate is subject to, will not permit even a stronger constitution than mine to run to and fro in the scorching sun without contracting some Distemper or other."<sup>51</sup>

In our day artificial heating and refrigeration have rendered the silk industry independent of climate, so that even in such contrasting climates as those of New York State and Texas sericulturists have succeeded.<sup>52</sup> A major problem solved by modern refrigeration is that of preserving the eggs. A silk moth lays about 1,800 eggs. The silk culturist nowadays can place these eggs in cold storage for five years before letting them hatch out. Thus, if kept in a cool place, they can be transported great distances.<sup>53</sup> The need of changing the worm's seed, and the difficulty of preservation in the long voyage across the Atlantic Ocean<sup>54</sup> in a day when refrigeration was unknown, was a

<sup>48</sup> Ellis to Board of Trade, May 25, 1757, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part I, p. 36.

<sup>49</sup> Habersham to Hillsborough, Aug. 12, 1772, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part I, p. 5.

<sup>50</sup> De Brahm's account in *C. R. G.*, Vol. 39, p. 490.

<sup>51</sup> Ottolenghi to Martyn, June 12, 1754, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 27, p. 307.

<sup>52</sup> Angelo Leva to Stuart E. Sill, president of the Osgian Silk Corporation, New York, Aug. 29, 1921.

<sup>53</sup> Dr. Osgian, article in *Houston, Texas, Chronicle*, Jan. 26, 1919.

<sup>54</sup> A pamphlet printed in 1620 informs us that "the sea is much contrary to the nature of silk-worm seed, and easily corrupts it, by reason of the moisture and cold rawness especially carried in winter time; and therefore it is very hard to send it by sea in its perfection."

problem which harassed the silk culturist of colonial Georgia. Frequently the eggs which were being brought from Italy were lost by the worms being hatched in the voyage. In 1750, Martyn promised to procure for Mr. Bolzius new parcels of fresh seed from Italy or Portugal or France.<sup>55</sup> In 1768, Governor Wright complains to the Board of Trade: "much depends on the supply of fresh seed which I have not been able to get since I came to the Province notwithstanding I have wrote till I am tyred."<sup>56</sup> Pickering Robinson lost sixteen ounces of silkworm eggs which he brought over with him in a glass bottle. He lost also four ounces which he carried in a pot. They were part hatched or dead, decayed, and "corrupted."<sup>57</sup> Eggs sent on linen cloths were spoiled by being accidentally scraped off the cloths. The effect of the lack of fresh seed was evident. The Saltzburghians claimed that if they were not limited by the want of seed they would have better crops.<sup>58</sup> Ottolenghi said: "The badness of the cocoons is the cause that so little silk is made in this year [1766] and the proceeding years, and I fear, nay am certain, will grow worse if the seed is not changed of which I have earnestly desired for these several years past without effect."<sup>59</sup> In the fall of 1766, Wright implored the Board of Trade: "Untill your Lordships are Pleased to order a Fresh supply of Seed, I'm afraid our Accounts will continue to grow worse."<sup>60</sup> In 1767, the seed was "so degenerated" and the worms so weak that fifteen to nineteen pounds of cocoons would not produce as much silk as would eleven or twelve cocoons made of strong worms.<sup>61</sup>

Portuguese seed was thought to be highly desirable. "The Portuguese worms," a sericulturist explained, "make a close well connected cone accompanying its web with a glutinous substance which it extracts from its Food by which the Work is Firm and Beautiful." The Georgia worm had "not strength sufficient to express out of its Bags the glutinous Substance lodged there for the completion of its Work"; the cocoons dropped off the reel

<sup>55</sup> Martyn to Bolzius, May 3, 1750, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, p. 395.

<sup>56</sup> Wright to Hillsborough, July 1, 1768, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 37, p. 323.

<sup>57</sup> Pickering Robinson to Martyn, March 27, 1751, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 26, p. 187.

<sup>58</sup> Ottolenghi to Wright, enclosed in letter of Wright to the Board of Trade, Savannah, Oct. 10, 1766, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part II, p. 302.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Wright to Board of Trade, Nov. 29, 1766, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part II, p. 334.

<sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.*, Aug. 25, 1767, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part II, p. 432.

almost as soon as they were joined and the silk was jagged.<sup>62</sup> The trustees explained the legal difficulty of securing fresh seed from Portugal: "We have no trade directly with Portugal. The ships that leave here [England] for Portugal do not return from Portugal but must go by law to Great Britain. We send no goods to Portugal but rice. Therefore no vessel will go there from England before the new rice comes in."<sup>63</sup> The distant London government failed to realize the colonists' need of fresh seed. Why should there be "a want of worm seed when the silkworms are known to multiply in so extraordinary a manner"?<sup>64</sup> The colonists were advised to preserve the seed themselves.

The Saltzburghers accordingly built a special house in which to breed and feed the worms. In 1739, the crop was ruined because the silkworms had been placed in a house where sick people used to be, and so became infected by the germs and died.<sup>65</sup> The need for a special room in which to house the silkworms had long been recognized. An account written in 1620 advises against "narrow and ill-favoured rooms," and urges the sericulturist to "provide . . . fit lodgings for the silkworms, for this delicate creature, which cloathes Princes . . . cannot endure to bee lodged in base and beggarly rooms, but in those that be large, sweet, neat, well ayred and lightsome."<sup>66</sup> Bolzius wanted to give "the most necessitous Families" at least one hundred boards from the mills, each at four pence, to enable them to raise "a convenient Habitation only for manufacturing silk." The rooms for the worms should be high and spacious enough to give the big worms sufficient cool air so that they would not become "silk yellow" and die.<sup>67</sup>

Inadequate equipment contributed to the eventual failure of the industry. There were no more than a basin and a reel to five or six families. When one of the families was employing

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<sup>62</sup> The greatest requisite in reeling is evenness and equality in the threads. After the cocoons by reeling have been converted into raw silk, that silk before it can be used in the manufacture of fine stuffs must undergo the operation of throwsting, that is, twisting. If the threads are not equal, if there is not in each thread the same number of fibers, as the twisting is done by machinery, the force which will twist the strong parts of the thread will break the weak ones, and that, with the loss of winding, produces what is called waste. "In proportion to the greater or less quantity of waste that is found in raw silk is the price or value in foreign markets." *Southern Agriculturist*, June, 1835.

<sup>63</sup> Ottolenghi to Martyn, Sept. 11, 1753, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 26, p. 422. Habersham to Martyn, June 19, 1750, Mar. 25, 1751, *ibid.*, pp. 14, 136. Sept. 4, 1750, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 26, p. 54.

<sup>64</sup> *C. R. G.*, Vol. 30, p. 581.

<sup>65</sup> July 16, 1739, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 21, p. 178.

<sup>66</sup> Pamphlet, "Advice for Making of Convenient rooms to lodge Silk-Worms in," London, 1620.

<sup>67</sup> Bolzius to Martyn, May 16, 1749, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 25, p. 365.

them some of the others were obliged to bake their cocoons to prevent the chrysalis's eating through them, whereas if they had a basin and a reel to two families they could wind off their cocoons green, "by which the thread would be much stronger and wiry, the colour of the silk more bright and lively."<sup>68</sup> In the filature at Savannah the ceiling was so low that the skeins became discoloured from smoke and dust.<sup>69</sup>

A second filature was proposed to be located at Ebenezer, where the best and more numerous cocoons were produced, but this notion was frowned upon by Governor Ellis, who desired the people of Ebenezer to be forced to do business in Savannah and thereby learn to speak English. The difficulty of conveying cocoons down the river to Savannah was considerable. It was not always convenient for the women to go down to Savannah, thus they were deprived of an opportunity to learn to reel silk. Colonists left to their own devices, failed. They could not cure and reel the silk in their own homes where they lacked the conveniences for baking the cocoons, which too often were scorched or even burned. On the other hand, it sometimes occurred that the cocoons were not in the oven long enough to effect the smothering of the papilio, which ate their way out, thus ruining all the threads in the cocoons.<sup>70</sup>

The success of Georgia in her venture was further threatened by the older and richer province on her northern border. Cocoons had been raised in the three southern counties of South Carolina, where in 1682 was a "great plenty of mulberry trees." Sir Nathaniel Johnson named his Carolina plantation, Silk Hope. In the same year that Georgia was founded, a Swiss settlement was made at Purrysburg on the northern side of the Savannah River.<sup>71</sup> Lacking a filature in South Carolina, the people of Purrysburg shipped their cocoons to Savannah and received the

<sup>68</sup> Habersham to Hillsborough, Sept. 30, 1771, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 37, p. 562.

<sup>69</sup> Habersham to Hillsborough, Sept. 30, 1771, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 37, p. 562; Hillsborough to Habersham, Jan. 11, 1772, *ibid.*, p. 585. Ottolenghi to Martyn, Sept. 11, 1753, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 26, pp. 432-3; June 13, 1754, Vol. 27, p. 307; Verelst to the president and assistants, Jan. 2, 1748, Vol. 31, p. 240.

<sup>70</sup> Wright to the Board of Trade, Oct. 21, 1766; Ellis to the Board of Trade, April 24, 1759, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part II, p. 311; Part I, p. 279.

<sup>71</sup> Bolzius to Verelst, June 14, 1750, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 36, p. 514. In 1755, Charles Pinckney of His Majesty's council in South Carolina had the Honour to wait on the Princess of Wales at Leicester House with a Piece of Silk Damask, "the Growth and Product of his own Plantation" in South Carolina, and "dyed a fine Blue with Carolina Indico." She received it very favourably and declared she would "honour it with her own Wearing." *South Carolina Gazette*, Feb. 5, April 10, 1755.

bounty offered by the trustees to encourage the industry in the younger colony. In 1741, one-half of all the cocoons presented at the Savannah filature came from Purrysburg. The trustees, vexed that money intended "to give encouragement for raising silk in Georgia" should have been paid for cocoons of the growth of South Carolina, decided that no more silk balls should be received from Purrysburg or any other part of South Carolina and that Carolinians should not be entitled to any price or bounty.<sup>72</sup> Eight years later, however, the trustees relented and decided that bounties should be paid for one year for any silk cocoons whatsoever, even though raised in the rival province. In 1756, Carolina supplied the filature at Savannah with more cocoons than did either Ebenezer or Savannah, Carolina producing 1,525 pounds and more of cocoons, Ebenezer only 1,232, and Savannah only 1,024.<sup>73</sup> For the Georgia cocoons the trustees paid three shillings the pound, for the Carolina cocoons only one-half that amount.<sup>74</sup>

The infant industry in Georgia had to meet the competition not only of a neighboring state, but of other crops within its own borders. Planters found it more profitable to employ their slaves in making rice and indigo.<sup>75</sup> The trustees in vain warned the colonists not to be inattentive to "what should be their principle object: viz't the Culture of Silk."<sup>76</sup> After 1771, even the people of Ebenezer, the most devoted to the silk project, took up the culture of maize, rice, indigo, hemp, and tobacco.

Labor difficulties harassed the trustees and doomed their pet industry to failure. They had expected to employ only "Poor, old sickly persons of both sexes, and children."<sup>77</sup> Strong men should cultivate the crops, build houses, reserving the "poorer sort" for the gentle task of tending the silkworms. The trustees overlooked the difficulties of the industry. They regarded it as

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<sup>72</sup> Verelst to James Lewis Camuse, Sept. 16, 1741, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 30, p. 362.

<sup>73</sup> Little to the Board of Trade, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, p. 166.

<sup>74</sup> Charles Garth, agent of South Carolina, Apr. 21, 1769, *South Carolina Letter Book*, p. 75, 1766-1775. June 24, 1766, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part II, p. 286. Wright to Board of Trade, Aug. 25, 1767, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part II, p. 432.

<sup>75</sup> Ellis to Board of Trade, Apr. 24, 1759; B. P. R. O., Board of Trade, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part I, p. 281. In South Carolina, too, it was realized that the profits from silk to a rich planter would hold "a very trifling proportion to what he can make in rice, indico, or hemp." Governor Bull to the Earl of Hillsborough, Jan. 9, 1771, *South Carolina Public Records*, Vol. 32, p. 396.

<sup>76</sup> Martyn to Stephens, July 7, 1749; Martyn to Habersham, July 18, 1750, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, pp. 304, 428.

<sup>77</sup> Bolzius to Martyn, June 15, 1750, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 25, p. 506.

an "easy business" which every wife and child should learn.<sup>78</sup> The young women did not take their work too seriously. Their manager at Savannah complained to Martyn in London: "The working People are Girls who love play better than Work, and no sooner my Back is turned but a cessation of Hands immediately ensues."<sup>79</sup> The women on their part constantly complained of their low wages and refused to sort the cocoons and turn and reel off the silk unless their pay was raised. Some received an increase of two pence a day, being advanced from eighteen to twenty pence a day; others who had received one shilling were given one shilling six pence a day for an eleven-hour day.<sup>80</sup> Negro labor was not used in the cultivation of silk, for the "smell from the negroes" was found to "be offensive to the Worms."<sup>81</sup> An early eighteenth century account had it that "no ill smells must come neere them [the worms]; they must be kept sweet and oft perfumed. . . . Sweet scents being a thing most agreeable to them."

Labor difficulties concerned themselves chiefly with the skilled workers, especially instructors. The famed sericulturists of that day as of ours were chiefly from southern Europe; from Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, and France.<sup>82</sup> Complete lack of coöperation characterized the relations between the trustees and their foreign employees at Savannah.

The trustees were especially unfortunate in their principal instructor, Mrs. Mary Camuse, whose name was sometimes spelled Camuche, or Camuso. This high-spirited lady was the only Piedmontese in Georgia who understood the art of winding silk. Consequently she was "disposed to set too great a value upon her Service, at a time when possibly another might not be readily found to supply her place in the silk manufacture."<sup>83</sup> She was "a humoursome Woman" with an "unaccountable Temper," "moody and reserved." "She found herself . . . become so necessary she thought she would make what terms she saw fit with the Trust." Colonel William Stephens, secretary of

<sup>78</sup> Bolzius to Verelst, June 14, 1750, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 25, p. 501.

<sup>79</sup> Ottolenghi to Martyn, June 13, 1754, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 27, p. 307.

<sup>80</sup> Wright to the Board of Trade, June 29, 1764, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part III, p. 99; Aug. 6, 1764, Vol. 28, Part II, p. 93.

<sup>81</sup> June 19, 1752, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 33, p. 574.

<sup>82</sup> Habersham to Hillsborough, Savannah, Aug. 12, 1772, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, p. 1.

<sup>83</sup> Stephens' Journal, Jan. 2, 1741; Stephens to Verelst, Oct. 29, Nov. 12, 1741, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 23, pp. 198-9, 137, 146.

the board of trustees at Savannah, thought he had discovered the reasons for Mrs. Camuse's unreasonable behaviour: "If I am rightly informed 'tis Death for any Piedmontois if taken who shall divulge the Art [of winding silk] in another country; 'tis no longer strange that she insists on pretty high Terms."<sup>84</sup> During one of her "freaks," when she had been "set agog" by "a little too much of the Rum Bottle," she revealed that she was not "such a fool as to bring up any in her art of winding silk," which was "to breed up young birds to pick out her eyes."<sup>85</sup> "It is," reflected Stephens, "a melancholy Consideration to think it is in the Power of such a Dame to put an entire Stop to such a Manufacture whenever she pleases." Throughout the summer and fall of the year 1743, Stephens laboured with "abundance of courtship" to placate the "ill-tempered Woman." He despaired of finding any girls willing to be apprenticed to her.<sup>86</sup> Even the Ebenezer women, seldom known to complain, reported that Mrs. Camuse "refused plainly to show them the manner of winding off the silk."<sup>87</sup> Bolzius, too, found her "very envious and by no means disposed to let others into the secret of winding."<sup>88</sup> In disgust, Martyn wrote to the president and assistants: "It is not the Design of the Trustees to have this the Business of any particular Woman in the Province, but the employment of every one."<sup>89</sup> Stephens' one note of hope was that the "capricious Woman" would certainly one day meet with "the common lot of mortality." Finally the patience of the trustees was exhausted and at the end of the year 1748 they decided to suspend till further order Mrs. Camuse's salary.

"Of one and the same principle with Mrs. Camuse, viz't to get much money for no or little work," was the widow Barriky. She, too, desired to maintain "a monopoly in the Art," being "jealous," as Bolzius said, "to let have any body else a Share or Interest in it."<sup>90</sup>

The lack of coöperation between instructors and apprentices was general rather than exceptional. Joseph Ottolenghi, who

<sup>84</sup> *Op. cit.*, Jan. 22, 1742, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 23, p. 468.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, June 9, 1742, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 23, p. 344.

<sup>86</sup> Stephens to Verelst, Feb. 29, 1744, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 24, p. 227.

<sup>87</sup> Bolzius to Martyn, Nov. 21, 1744, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 24, p. 344.

<sup>88</sup> Bolzius to Verelst, May 6, 1747, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 25, p. 169.

<sup>89</sup> Jan. 2, 1748, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, p. 244.

<sup>90</sup> Bolzius to Martyn, Nov. 21, 1744, Sept. 22, 1744, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 24, pp. 319, 344.

had been "conversant" with silk culture in Italy and had charge of the filature at Savannah, complained that the people at Ebenezer would "neither be led nor driven." "I would rather," he said, "teach ten of the dullest English women than one of them." Governor Ellis could not prevail upon Ottolenghi "to instruct anybody."<sup>91</sup> Governor Wright was sorry to find Ottolenghi entertaining "unreasonable Jealousies and suspicions as to the appointment of a proper person to succeed to the direction of the silk culture upon his death." Governor Little complained of the management of Ottolenghi, which was ruining the "silk affair" and frustrating all expectation. Ottolenghi, in his turn, complained of his salary.<sup>92</sup>

Failure to coöperate prevailed among the higher authorities also. Governors Ellis and Little had diverse views on important aspects of the silk culture. Little preferred to have the premium placed on the trees, Ellis on the cocoons. Ellis charged Little with wanting another filature, not to promote the welfare of the colony by extending the silk culture, but rather "to gratify his private resentments and procure his party an advantage by employing another filature which would necessarily be under their direction."<sup>93</sup>

The silk enterprise was thwarted not only by the failure of coöperation on the part of dominant instructors and officials, but by mismanagement. Pickering Robinson, who was sent to Georgia to take charge of the industry, admitted to the president and council at Savannah that he did not understand the silk business and was forced to rely entirely upon Ottolenghi. Ottolenghi, in turn, was furnished with no colleagues or assistants. Governor Ellis expressed the colony's abject dependence upon him: "If he should drop off, I cannot see how this culture could be supported."<sup>94</sup> Mismanagement again was seen in the failure of the equipment to arrive on time. Machines and copper basins for winding off silk had been landed at Charlestown and remained there for five years, and were therefore "lost to the

<sup>91</sup> Ottolenghi to Martyn, Sept. 11, 1753, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 26, p. 426; Ellis to the Board of Trade, Jan. 1, 1758, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part I, p. 137.

<sup>92</sup> Board of Trade to Wright, Dec. 20, 1762, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 34, p. 524. Memorial of Ottolenghi, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part I, pp. 237-239.

<sup>93</sup> Ellis to the Board of Trade, Apr. 24, 1759, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part I.

<sup>94</sup> Ellis to the Board of Trade, May 25, 1757, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part I, p. 36.

colony.”<sup>95</sup> The trustees did not comply with the demands of their managers in America. When four basins had been requested, the trustees sent only two. Again an order for twenty basins brought only five. Misunderstandings were legion.<sup>96</sup> The general mismanagement resulted in many cases from ignorance of conditions. For example, in November, 1749, the trustees were “astonished that the women who learnt to wind had not been paid.”<sup>97</sup> The next year the trustees learned to their embarrassment that the trust garden of ten acres had “gone to Decay and the ground found too bad for mulberry trees.”<sup>98</sup> When their charter expired, Martyn was glad to wash his hands of the whole great venture: “The government of the colony,” he wrote with resignation, “will be lodged in Hands more able to support it than the Trustees have been.”<sup>99</sup>

Financial difficulties almost wrecked the industry. The settlers, being far from opulent, needed every support for an industry not even of their own choosing. Out of a sum granted by Parliament, the trustees paid premiums for cocoons or for wound silk. A bounty of four shillings was given for every pound of cocoons. Although this was “not sufficient encouragement to the Inhabitants to plant Mulberry trees and go on the silk,” yet it was reduced to two shillings and even to one shilling and six pence.<sup>100</sup> The year 1745 found the trustees unable to pay even the reduced bounty. They were dependent on the London silk sales. Besides, they had made no application for the assistance of Parliament “by reason of the great expense of the present war.” In 1748, the bounty was further reduced. Only one shilling a pound was paid for cocoons which produced silk of eight threads and only four pence a pound for cocoons in which two or three worms had interwoven. Winders were to be paid for every pound of sixteen ounces, two shillings, and for every pound of the worst sort, one shilling.<sup>101</sup> The lowered bounty worked a hardship to the producers.

<sup>95</sup> Stephens to the Trustees, Jan. 19, 1737, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 22, Part I, p. 76.

<sup>96</sup> Bolzius to Martyn, July 6, 1749, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 25, p. 385.

<sup>97</sup> Nov. 23, 1749, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, p. 356.

<sup>98</sup> Martyn to Parker, Mar. 5, 1750, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, p. 495.

<sup>99</sup> Martyn to Habersham, Mar. 9, 1752, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 31, p. 578.

<sup>100</sup> One pound of cocoons made two ounces of silk. Zachary, the London expert, estimated that twenty-five pounds of cocoons would mean two pounds of silk, and claimed that a woman could spin a twelve-ounce pound in one day during the forty days of the spinning season. Stephens' Journal, May 26, 1742, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 1, p. 428.

<sup>101</sup> Feb. 22, 1748, Mar. 16, 1748, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 1, p. 528, Vol. 33, p. 386.

But a still greater discouragement awaited them. The payment of the declining bounty was postponed and certificates were tendered in lieu of cash. In Savannah, "monstrous trouble" arose. In Ebenezer, the Reverend Bolzius quieted his flock by personal payments from his own pocket, for which he drew bills on the trustees, much to the disgust of their honours. Bolzius well knew that the people would "go upon the silk" so long as the bounty lasted and no longer.<sup>102</sup> Again the offer of the trustees proved abortive. In 1749 they thought to encourage spinners by promising two pounds sterling to every woman who should learn to wind within the year. In Ebenezer, three such women qualified only to learn that the trustees did not have it "in their power to pay one shilling on account of the fifteen pounds" due them.<sup>103</sup>

Confusion was worse confounded the next year when the trustees devised an ingenious method of postponing the payment of the cocoons until they were sorted, rated, and spun.<sup>104</sup> The delay and the "impossibility of distinguishing each man's property when carried from cocoon to silk" in no little way discouraged the whole industry. In 1751, 3,346 pound weight of cocoons were delivered at the flature, and the raisers were put off for their pay till a calculation could be made as to how much they ought to be "imposed upon." One sarcastic colonist voiced the general grievance: "Ye advertisement directs that the cocoons be delivered to ye store and bak'd before ye proprietors are to receive any satisfaction. One pound in seven is lost in the oven, surely it is not ye method to sell wool and trust to the Weaver."<sup>105</sup> Mr. Bolzius brought down to Savannah a box of raw silk of seventy-four pounds two ounces. He did not know what price he should pay to the people who made it, as the cocoons were wound before the trustees' instructions, which ordered them to be sorted and weighed, reached him.<sup>106</sup> Since "it was found impracticable to reel of [sic] and keep each Person's

<sup>102</sup> Bolzius to Verelst, June 14, Stephens to Martyn, July 11, 1750, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 25, p. 498, Vol. 26, p. 24.

<sup>103</sup> Bolzius to the Trustees, Feb. 3, June 16, 1749, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 25, pp. 384, 472.

<sup>104</sup> Cocoons were arranged in four classes: for the best, those that were hard and weighty, three shillings for a pound of sixteen ounces were paid; for the second class, which were thin, weak, and wooly, only two shillings and three pence, and so to the fourth class of double spotted or bruised cocoons, for which only one shilling the pound was paid. Robinson and Habersham to Martyn, Aug. 19, 1751, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, p. 283.

<sup>105</sup> Jo. Browne to the Trustees, May 20, 1751, received Aug. 10, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 26, p. 218.

<sup>106</sup> July 3, 1750, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 6, p. 325.

cocoons Separate," it was felt that the trustees should become "the immediate purchasers." Pickering Robinson proposed that instead of an uncertain two shillings a pound, three shillings a pound should be granted "for twelve or fourteen years certain." But Martyn assured him that this could not "come within the consideration of the Trustees," for they were "about to surrender their Trust into the hands of His Majesty."

The expense of the silk culture mounted with the years from about 300 pounds in the year 1753 to over 1,000 pounds in 1758. The Parliamentary appropriation together with the profits from the sales in London did not meet the amounts paid at Savannah for cocoons or for wound silk.<sup>107</sup> Thus it was overproduction rather than underproduction that embarrassed Governor Wright. He feared the "bad consequences" that would follow a refusal to pay the premiums due on the cocoons. Still worse, even the inadequate Parliamentary appropriation of 1,000 pounds a year was uncertain. Wright decided that "to support the credit, interest and advantage of the Province" he ought to pay the cocoon raisers in drafts which he trusted that Parliament would honor.<sup>108</sup> The whole amount due the silk raisers was more than double the sum appropriated by Parliament, that is, 2,376 pounds and more, as against the Parliamentary grant of 1,000 pounds. The net profits in 1763 upon the sale of the raw silk in London being only 881 pounds, was more than 100 pounds less than the usual 1,000 pounds appropriated by Parliament to cover the premiums due the silk raisers. Thus the silk sales in London did not cover the expenses of production in America. In 1764, the disparity was even greater; the expenses mounted to nearly 6,000 pounds over and above the 1,000 pounds appropriation, and again the silk sales were inadequate to balance the budget. Wright gave certificates against the sales in London which the sales were insufficient to cover. In 1766, the total profit on the sales of silk was 1,136 pounds 23 shillings; the expenditures, being more than 1,938 pounds, left a deficit of more than 800

<sup>107</sup> Ottolenghi to the Board of Trade, Sept. 3, 1753, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 6, p. 407; Aug. 15, 1755, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 7, p. 114; Wright to the Board of Trade, June 10, 1762, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part I, p. 567.

<sup>108</sup> Wright to the Board of Trade, June 10, 1762, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part I, pp. 567, 568.

pounds.<sup>109</sup> The Board of Trade would not honor the drafts in excess of the profits, and so the irredeemable certificates were left outstanding. Only condemnation was Wright's reward from the Board of Trade: "Yourself and other officers will stand accountable in your private Fortunes [for money paid] beyond the allowance made in the last grant of Parliament."<sup>110</sup> Wright reasoned with the Board: "I am certain it's not consistent with your Lordship's Justice that I should be injured or suffer in my Private Fortune for doing that which I conceive to be my duty."<sup>111</sup>

Governor Wright's position was a difficult one: he was to receive no more cocoons than could be met by the 1,000 pounds which would be granted by Parliament to midsummer 1765, and even that amount was not certain, or any amount, for that matter. Furthermore, Wright had to meet payments due to sorters, reelers, turners (turners received one shilling a day), not to mention expenses incurred in making repairs and in supplying firewood. Desperately he wrote to the Board of Trade: "My Lords . . . the affair will soon dwindle to nothing and if my Bills or certificates meet with any demur in being accepted or Paid it will soon put a stop to the Culture. The Poor People must have their money and a Bill three or four months after will not serve their Turn. . . . They will expect payment from me."<sup>112</sup>

Realizing the financial difficulties that beset the culture, the Board of Trade decided that "the present expense must be lowered." Accordingly, the price paid at the filature at Savannah was reduced in half, that is, from three shillings to one and six.<sup>113</sup> Wright regretted the lowering of the bounty: "It would," he said, "strike too great a damp and discourage almost every Body of Property from going upon it, and that few or none would continue to Raise Cocoons for the future but Poor

<sup>109</sup> More specifically: 20,350 cocoons paid for at the rate of one and six per pound cost 1,526 pounds and five shillings. Other expenses increased this amount to 1,938 pounds six shillings and four pence. The cocoons yielded 1,084 pounds of raw silk and 1,077 pounds of filozel. The raw silk at 18 shillings a pound brought 974 pounds twelve shillings. The filozel at three shillings a pound reached 161 pounds and eleven shillings. The total on the sales was 1,136 pounds twenty-three shillings, which reduced the deficit to 801 pounds four shillings and four and three-fourths pence.

<sup>110</sup> Board of Trade to Wright, May 29, 1764, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 34, p. 540.

<sup>111</sup> Wright to the Board of Trade, Dec. 14, 1764, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part II, p. 137.

<sup>112</sup> Wright to the Board of Trade, Dec. 14, 1764, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part II, p. 138.

<sup>113</sup> April 19, 1765, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 9, p. 339.

Indigent People who have little or no Property . . . and that the money heretofore expended for the Introduction and support of that most Valuable commodity, be all thrown away." Later he entreated the Board "not to be too hasty in Lowering the Premium or rather Price of the Cocoons for the damp is great and many People have declared to me that they will not concern themselves with it any more."<sup>114</sup> "If," he continued, "there is any prospect of the Bounty on or rather Purchase of the cocoons being discontinued I should hope to have the earliest notice that I may know how to conduct myself. The People should know what they have to trust to, for in case the cocoons are received and the Filature opened before I get such information, how am I to act, or what is to be done in that event? The cocoons will perish if not Cured and the Silk wound off, the People can't take em [sic] back, not being Prepared, and few of them know how to do either and how are they to be Paid for, if the Parliamentary grant is to be discontinued?"<sup>115</sup>

The system of paying an immediate premium on cocoons gave way to a plan whereby payment was postponed until the silk was sold in London. Four or more eminent silk merchants inspected it in London, gave certificates to the cocoon raisers, who were paid only after the silk was sold and they had answered an advertisement to come to the filature at Savannah for money long due them.<sup>116</sup> Governor Wright's gloomiest predictions were realized. The production of silk declined from 20,000 cocoons in 1766 to only 290 in the year 1771. Meanwhile "the late disturbances in America hindered many from taking any further notice" of silk culture.<sup>117</sup> The Provincial legislature was unable to "give any Bounty or Premium on Silk," and so the industry collapsed."<sup>118</sup>

A final note of solicitation was sent to the governor of Georgia from the Lords of Trade: "His Majesty trusts that the Harmony subsisting between Great Britain and her colonies will be cultivated and improved . . . especially His Majesty's subjects in Georgia, the interest of whom has been so peculiarly an object

<sup>114</sup> Wright to the Board of Trade, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part II, pp. 168, 169.

<sup>115</sup> Wright to John Pownell, Aug. 23, 1766, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part II, p. 295.

<sup>116</sup> Wright to the Board of Trade, Oct. 21, 1766, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 28, Part II, p. 312.

<sup>117</sup> Journal Colonial House of Assembly, South Carolina, June 7, 1766.

<sup>118</sup> Wright to Hillsborough, May 11, 1770, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 37, p. 446.

of the attention of His Majesty's Government and so liberally supported by the repeated Bounty of Parliament."<sup>119</sup> Wright's reply to the Lords of Trade was equally solicitous, equally tender: "The great and generous attention of His Majesty and his Parliament in giving so many Encouragements to the Productions of the colonies and at so considerable an expense to Great Britain cannot fail to raise pleasing Reflections in His Majesty's subjects in America and I hope may be productive of a grateful Conduct and behaviour."<sup>120</sup>

The impending war brought a definite end to an industry that was destined to collapse eventually. Its doom was sealed by the unfortunate climate of Georgia, the lack of modern conveniences as in refrigeration to preserve the seed and in heating to destroy the worms in the cocoons, the difficulties of attempting to control the minute details of a business from the further side of the Atlantic Ocean, especially under eighteenth century conditions of communication, the failure of employees to coöperate with the trustees who engaged them, and finally the peculiar financial system whereby all responsibility for the success or failure of the culture rested on the shoulders of trustees who had had the courage to form a new industry in an unsettled wilderness.

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<sup>119</sup> Hillsborough to James Wright, Whitehall, Feb. 20, 1768, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 37, p. 268.

<sup>120</sup> Wright to Hillsborough, Aug. 15, 1769, *C. R. G.*, Vol. 37, p. 414.

# UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINIANS TO WASHINGTON

Edited by ELIZABETH G. MCPHERSON

Because of the deficiencies of the newspapers, other sources of information were relied upon in the eighteenth century. Consequently, letters of this period became one of the chief sources. The correspondence of George Washington included some important letters from North Carolinians relative to state and national politics.

It has been estimated that the Washington Papers<sup>1</sup> in the Library of Congress are about ninety-eight per cent of those that have survived. The remaining two per cent has been made available partially through the photostat process. In presenting the letters selected, the editor has tried to make a careful reproduction.

FROM THOMAS CLARK AND OTHER OFFICERS<sup>2</sup>

Camp June 12, 1778

Sir

The bearer hereof Mr Abishai Thomas being desirous of obtaining a commission in a company of Sappers, we the Field officers of the North Carolina Brigade, do certify, that he hath acted in the Brigade as Depy Q M Genl, from 1<sup>st</sup> May 77 to the 10<sup>th</sup> Inst, during which time he hath behaved himself as became an officer & a Gentleman, We therefore take the Liberty of recommending him to your Excellency, as a person worthy of holding such commission

And are with due respect Sir

Your most Obdt. & Humb. Servts.,

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<sup>1</sup> The Washington Papers in the Library of Congress now fill over four hundred volumes of manuscripts. Physically these records may be grouped in: Bound notebooks and diaries, many in their original binding; bound account books, some in Washington's handwriting; bound letter record books; letter record books; The Varick Transcripts of forty-four volumes; drafts of letters from and the original letters to Washington arranged in two hundred and ninety-nine volumes; photostat copies of manuscripts scattered throughout the United States. For a detailed account of the Washington Papers see Fitzpatrick, John C. (editor), *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Sources 1745-1799*, I, Introductory Notes.

<sup>2</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress. The recommendation was signed by Thomas Clark, lieutenant colonel of the First North Carolina regiment; John Patten, colonel of the second North Carolina Regiment; Robert Mebane and Selby Harney, lieutenant colonels of the second North Carolina Regiment; John Ashe, brigadier general, and Hardy Murfee, major of the North Carolina regiment.

FROM THOMAS CLARK<sup>3</sup>

Paramus Dec 18, 1778

*Sir*

On the 7<sup>th</sup> Inst. late in the afternoon, I received your Excellency's Order's to remove from the Clove to Paramus, on the 8<sup>th</sup>. & 9 I called in the several Commands from the passes of the Mountains, intending to March on the 10<sup>th</sup>, but was prevented, by bad weather till the 11<sup>th</sup> when I marched & reached this place -

from the scattered situation of the Buildings, the soldiers are not quartered in so compact a manner as I could wish, but the attention & vigilance of the officers will I hope make up for this inconvenience - I have left a Sargeant and 12 men at Ringwood and an officer & 50 men at Thakeate & since the removal of Col Febeger<sup>4</sup> I have found it necessary to keep a strong guard at the New Bridge, little ferry & Liberty Pole, for the purpose of cutting off all intercourse between the Inhabitants & New York - I will take care that the Soldiers do not burn the fences or commit any disorderly acts - 20 men (out of 34) that lately deserted from the Convention troops, were brought to me yesterday, taken up by the Inhabitants & guards, I purpose sending them to Morris Town Goals tomorrow

I have the Honor to be                      Sir

Your Excellency's most obdt & very Humble Servt

FROM THOMAS CLARK<sup>5</sup>Paramus March 1<sup>st</sup> 1779*Sir*

I return you the copy of the arrangement of the 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> North Carolina Regiments, corrected, with a copy from my papers in more regular order - we have had but two appointments and two resignations since I saw the Committee of Arrangement at the White Plains -

Since my last to your Excellency of the 26 & 27<sup>th</sup> ulto., my reconnoitering parties having returned and inform me the enemy on the Hobuck are about 400 in number - they are very cautious and seem more desirous to keep themselves safe. than to make any excursions into the Country -

The party landed at Niach was very small and from a Row-Galley, they robbed Mr. Furman and immediately went on Board - I have a party watching their motion -

With great respect I am                      Sir

Your Excellency's most Obt. Humble Servt.

<sup>3</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Christian Febeger held several commands prior to his appointment as colonel of the third Virginia regiment, October 9, 1777. He was promoted to Brigadier General September 1, 1783.

<sup>5</sup> Washington Papers, photostat copy, Library of Congress. The original is in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

FROM THOMAS CLARK<sup>6</sup>Paramus March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1779*Sir*

By Lt Coll. Mebane,<sup>7</sup> I send your Excellency a return of the men of the 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>d</sup> N. Carolina Regiments reinlisted during the war – opposite each man's name is the expiration of his former inlistment, the Bounty paid him in dollars and the officer who reinlisted him I have not had time to compare it with the Muster Rolls but the officers assure me they have be[e]n very careful, to comply with Genl Orders –

The 1 <sup>st</sup> Regmt has reinlisted 81 men and expended.....	10410 dol
remains in possession of the officers.....	3340 do
The 2 <sup>d</sup> Regmt has reinlisted 83 men and expended.....	9430 dol
remains in possession of the officers.....	4320 do
which four sums make.....	2 7500 dol

The 10 dol allowed to the officers for each man they reinlisted has been generally given to the soldiers by almost every officer – a further sum of 15 000 dols will be necessary in the course of this month – if your Excellency thinks proper, Col Mebane will take charge of any sum you may please to order –

The enemy remain quiet at Pawles Hook and Hobuck 5 deserters came in, a few days ago from Col Burkirks Corps stationed at the latter place, from them I understand a general discontent prevails in the Corps – I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your Excellency's mot Obt and Most Humble Servt

My soldiers are much distressed for want of Shirts and Shoes –

FROM THOMAS CLARK<sup>8</sup>Paramus May 17<sup>th</sup> 1779*Sir*

Yesterday on receiving information that a large body of the enemy had attacked and forced my Scouts from the New Bridge, I desired Lt Col Davidson<sup>9</sup> to give your Excellency notice by express whilst I reconnoitered them, I found from my own observation and the best intelligence I could get that 500 had crossed the Bridge and taken possession of the heights on this side of the River and a considerable body remaining on the other side. all I was able to do in this case was to keep my light Infantry and a Captains command joined by a few Militia as near them as possible “to prevent pillaging” – about 5 oClock in the afternoon, another express from my scout at Tapan informed me that 500 men were on their march for this place – with two Gentlemen of this

<sup>6</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.<sup>7</sup> Robert Mebane was lieutenant colonel of the second North Carolina regiment.<sup>8</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.<sup>9</sup> Colonel William Lee Davidson was a member of the fourth regiment of North Carolina.

place I immediately reconnoitered that road and found that at 7 miles from this they changed their rout [e] and marched to the New Bridge - The Continental Troops with a few Militia lay on their arms all day yesterday and last night - the enemy recrossed about 10 yesterday evening taking up the Bridge after them - The Militia came down in great numbers this morning and seemed to be in high spirits - By two deserters, and other very good information the enemy's force consisted of the 63, 64 Regmts. Bur Kirk's Corps, 100 Ferguson riflemen, the refugees, some grenadiers & Light Infantry making 1 000 march by way of Hackinsack Bridge, and 500 others to land at Cloister Creek and proceed thro Tapan to Paramus Church where they were to make a junction by day light, but by the latter party's missing their landing place & the vigilance of the Scouts the scheme miscarried - they were if possible, to have possessed themselves of my Artillery, Baggage and taken or destroyed the whole regim[en]t - they have carried off several Cattle and plundered a number of houses - I have not been able to learn whether they have lost many men in the different skirmishes or not - Three of mine are wounded -

I expect something of the same kind shortly, but your Excellency may be assured they never shall surprise me, force me they may - I have the honor to be

Sir

Your Excellency's most Obt humble Servt

The enemy have returned to New York and their different stations

FROM THOMAS CLARK<sup>10</sup>

Paramus May 31<sup>st</sup> 1779  
7 oClock P.M.

Sir/

I have this moment by express from my Scouting officer at Tapan received intelligence that the enemy are at Tallan point with 42 sails 1 six of which are very large and a number of flat Bottomed Boats they have landed a party of men on the other side of the N. River and a party at the State - I have sent for my out parties from Hackinsack & I am prepared to move at the shortest notice to West Point should they move any farther up the river - a careful officer and party are watching their movements

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your Excellency's most obdt Humble servt.

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<sup>10</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

FROM THOMAS CLARK<sup>11</sup>West Point July 12<sup>th</sup> 1779

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint your Excellency, that the Court of Enquiry (on Col Armand's affair) was clearly of opinion the Complaints of Col Vandeburgh, his Son and Mr. Jonas Adams, ought to be heard and determined in a Court of Civil Law – This Idea they wish to have conveyed, in saying, the Complaints were so far supported as to render a Tryal necessary –

with great respect I am Sir,

Your Excellency's most obt Humble servt

FROM HEWES, SMITH & ALLEN<sup>12</sup>Edenton 4<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1780

Sir

Herewith you have enclosed a letter from a gentleman in Thieusies once honored with your acquaintance. It accompanied a pipe of wine for your Excellency in one of our Boats called the Hancock arrived from that place. A Mr. Turnbull who was himself transporting a large quantity of goods to the northward was very anxious to take charge of this pipe of wine, from the good character we have received of this gentleman. & the ardent desire he has expressed of serving you, we have ventured to send it in by him, without your Excellency's order, which we hope will go safe,<sup>13</sup> & that we shall be pardoned for the freedom we have taken. –

We have the honor to be, with heartfull of esteem –

Your Excellency's most obedient & humble Servt

FROM ROBERT SMITH<sup>14</sup>

Edenton Mar 3, 1780

Sir

I am honoured with yours of the 4<sup>th</sup> ultmo to Our House, now dissolved by the death of my worthy friend & partner Mr. Hewes –<sup>15</sup> I observe you want to know what freight charges are on your pipe of wine – I am happy you approve of the manner I sent it & I hope it went to hand safe, without waste or adulteration – the Owner of the

<sup>11</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>12</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Hewes, Smith & Allen was one of the leading mercantile houses in Edenton, N. C. This copy is in the handwriting of William Sprague, secretary to Jared Sparks.

<sup>13</sup> In a letter dated Feb. 14, 1780, Washington wrote Robert Morris that he had just received a letter from Hewes, Smith & Allen stating that they had just sent a pipe of wine by Mr. Turnbull and "should it arrive in good order, I shall be able to give my friends a glass of such as I could wish and if you will do me the favour to partake of it at Morristown, I shall be happy. . . ." Varick Transcripts, Part II, pp. 17-18, Library of Congress.

<sup>14</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Robert Smith was a member of the firm of Hewes, Smith & Allen.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph Hewes died November 10, 1779, Philadelphia, where he was attending the Continental Congress as a delegate from North Carolina.

Hancock in which the wine came (one of which I am, and at this time represent the whole) think the obligation on the Other side, deeming it an Honour to have it in their power in the Smallest degree to oblige, who they Justly term, the Savior of their Country, and they wish for more opportunities to convince your Excellency how sincere they are in this profession, Should any thing of yours come this way from any quarter, good care will be taken of it subject to your order – with every degree of respect & Esteem, A man can bear to Man

I am

Your Excellency's  
most obd<sup>t</sup> & very  
Humble Servt.

FROM ABNER NASH<sup>16</sup>

Newbern October 6th. 1780

Sir

Considering that your Excellency was constantly made acquainted with whatever related to the military affairs of this & the neighboring state of S<sup>o</sup> Carolina, I thought it unnecessary to increase your trouble by opening a direct correspondence with you myself as governor of this State, But Sir the distress of this country and the danger we are now exposed to, in consequence of the defeat of our army under gen<sup>l</sup> Gates in Aug.<sup>t</sup> last,<sup>17</sup> oblige me in point of Duty to address myself to your Excellency, who I know has equal concern for the safety of every part of the United States I am to acquaint you Sir that for want of an early knowledge of the requisition of Congress for specific supplies, added to the bad crop of grain made in this state for two years past, the army under Baron D. Kalb<sup>18</sup> & our militia in the begin[n]ing of the year's campaign suffered the greatest hardships & were subsisted with the greatest difficulty – This difficulty however at length was overcome by our armies having made their march good to Pee Dee River about the begin[n]ing of August. Here Sir they fortunately recovered from the Enemy one of the most fertile & plentiful settlements in the southern States & obliged them in turn to take post in the barren wretched County of Cambden where they were soon reduced to short allowance – South Carolina in the meantime, encouraged by this successful advance of our army, was revolting from their masters in all quarters & in great numbers – The militia of the two states had had nine several skirmishes

<sup>16</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Abner Nash was governor of North Carolina, April, 1780-June 26, 1781. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, p. 417.

<sup>17</sup> General Horatio Gates was defeated by the British at Camden, South Carolina, August 16, 1780. The North Carolina and South Carolina delegates to the Continental Congress asked for an investigation of Gates' conduct. He was removed from the command of the southern army.

<sup>18</sup> Baron D. Kalb was superseded in command by General Horatio Gates at Hillsboro, North Carolina, July 25, 1780.

with the Enemy & had been successful in every one, in short the Enemy's destruction was inevitable had not the general determined unfortunately for us, to reek the fate of the campaign & with it the two Carolinas on the Event of a single Battle – I think I am justified in saying he put all to reek I have mentioned because no previous effectual measures were taken to save the baggage nor do I learn that any place was assigned for the army to retreat to in case of misfortune, which in my opinion might have been reasonably expected; our men by hard marches & bad living were sickly & weak & much the greater part of the army were militia who had never been in action; on the other hand, the Enemy, whose numbers by the eye were unknown, were fresh and had the sure advantage of engaging us when & where they pleased, of course they chose their ground and time to good Effect – The action no sooner commenced than as might have been dreaded, the center & left wing of the Line, composed of militia, and a great part of these Riflemen, got into confusion & fled away – at this point of time had the Regulars been ordered to retreat to Ruglys mill five miles in their Rear possibly all might have been saved – one hundred men there I am told would have defended the passage. The whole British force – but it was not done & the Enemy having nothing to oppose them on our left of course turned it & the General might well suppose, as it seems he did, that they were all cut off, however by the Supr. bravery of those excellent Troops they at length entricated themselves from their difficulties & after making great havock among the Enemy came off in tolerable good order & with less loss than could have been expected, but Sir the loss of those brave men was not our greatest loss – we had expended upward of 25,000,000 of Dollars on this army, we had drained every source, & ex[h]austed every fund in purchasing Tents, Waggons Horses Armes ammunition provisions Spirits sugar coffee camp Equipage of every kind in short every thing appertaining to an army & in a single half Hour all is completely lost & the army in a manner an[n]ihilated, for the militia fled chiefly to their respective homes spreading terror wherever they went & the Regulars of course continued their retreating on after their General until they at length eventually collected at Hillsborough 240 miles from the place of action where the General arrived the third day after the action<sup>19</sup> leaving all the country behind open to the incursion & ravage of the Enemy. At this place Sir the Regular Troops now remain inactive & unless for want of tools clothes & other necessaries whilst the Enemy are now making the most alarming advance into the richest & strongest part of this State – my

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<sup>19</sup> General Gates left all of his camp equipage and military stores as spoils for the victors. It has been estimated that more than 800 Americans, half of whom were North Carolinians, were killed, and over 1,000 captured.

last letter from Gen.<sup>1</sup> Davidson,<sup>20</sup> who for the pres.<sup>t</sup> commands the militia to the westward, dated the 26 ult. says this day at 11. oclock the Enemy marched its force into Charlotte,<sup>21</sup> his army retreating and meaning to take post on the north side of the Yadkin & Sir I am to remark to you that from the Yadkin to within 20 miles of Hillsborough the inhabitants are chiefly disaffected to our Government so that if our militia shall not be able to hold their post on the Yadkin, a river fordable any where their further retreat will not only be difficult & precarious, but the Enemys army will inevitably swell & grow more formidable & in such a case what have we to expect but that Genl. Gates will retreat with the shattered remains of his regular army over the Roanoke wch he is now within about thirty miles of; this Sir is a full picture of our present deranged & feeble condition, the effect of the unfortunate affairs of the 16<sup>th</sup> of Aug.<sup>t</sup> – I have acquainted Congress with our defenseless state and of the fatal consequences to the United States of loosing North Carolina – I have told them in plain terms that our funds are ex[h]austed that our militia are without Tents badly armed & dispirited for want of regular troops to form a proper basis of defence – that the unsettled state we are in, will render precarious any dependence on us for supr. supply of provisions & have urged them in the strongest terms that I am capable of to a sending some timely aid, and Sir I also beg leave earnestly to call your Excellencys attention toward the effectual defence of this part of the United States – I know Sir both you and Congress know the importance of these S<sup>o</sup> States and I acknowledge you had made what seemed every spr. provision necessary not only for our defence but for the recovery of at least the upper part of S<sup>o</sup> Carolina, but Sir unfortunately for us we have lost all advantage from the former aid & the force of our militia is also weakened & reduced by the intire loss of our Field equipage & our incapacity to repair the loss – to give your Excellency some Idea of the cruelties [inflicted?] by the Enemy over those who fall into their power, I inclose to you a copy of L<sup>d</sup>. Cornwallis' orders to an officer commanding at a seperate post – if you desire of me Sir a continuation of intelligence from this p.<sup>t</sup> of America, I shall be happy during my continuance in office in obeying yr orders and am with the highest respect & esteem

Sir yr Excellencys

Most obt & very hble servt

<sup>20</sup> William Lee Davidson was a major in the fourth North Carolina regiment and brigadier general of the state militia. He was killed at Cowan's Ford, February 1, 1781. Ashe, S. A., *Biographical History of North Carolina*, Vol. IV, pp. 124-128.

<sup>21</sup> Cornwallis wrote that the country around Charlotte was "more hostile to England than any in America." Clark, Walter (ed.), *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XV, p. 172 (hereafter this work will be cited as S. R.).

FROM ABNER NASH<sup>22</sup>

Camp at the Iron Works March 19, 1781

Sir,

I am just arrived at Gen[era]l Green's Camp; and an express being getting off, I just take the opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your Excellency's favor dated the 23 Jany which I received on my way here. Genl Green will no doubt give your Excellency the particulars of the action of the 15<sup>th</sup><sup>23</sup> I have the pleasure to be told by him that though he lost the ground, he disabled the enemy from further injuring this state for the present, I left Wilmington about 10 days ago, where the enemy have a post; their strength 500 – Our militia keep them close in town. We have at length an act of the assembly passed filling up our battallion, which I hope will have the desired effect in after weeks.

With the highest esteem,

I am yr. Excellency's

Most obdt servt

FROM ABNER NASH<sup>24</sup>Newbern April 4<sup>th</sup> 1781

Sir,

I am just arrived at Gen[era]l Green's Camp; and an express being General Greens Camp dated the 18<sup>th</sup> ult. as the Express was just off as I arrived at the Generals – I hope you was good enough to excuse the hasty manner in which it appeared to have been written; I am now just arrived Home from Camp and have the pleasure to acquaint you that our Worthy and excellent general with his little distressed tho' successful army has in turn driven his Lordship over Cape Fear River; this he passed as the General informs me the 28<sup>th</sup> with great precipitation leaving several dead of his late wounded unburied, and leaving the Bridge over the river undestroyed; the General was very near overtaking the Enemy at this place,<sup>25</sup> but says he must now make a Halt, as a considerable part of the Virginia militia were leaving him, and as his army distressed for provisions; I have assured him that the powers of the State shall be exerted to the utmost to support him & that in aid of the provision made by law for the support of the army, I had with the advice of my council Extraordinary<sup>26</sup> demanded from the Inhabitants of the whole State, those reduced by the contending armies excepted, one fifth part of all their Bacon and other salted meat and had appointed proper Officers in every County to collect this contribu-

<sup>22</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Washington answered this letter on April 4, 1781. Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>23</sup> General Nathanael Greene and Lord Cornwallis met in a drawn battle at Guilford Courthouse, March 15, 1781.

<sup>24</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>25</sup> On March 18, 1781, Lord Cornwallis abandoned his wounded at Hillsboro, North Carolina, broke camp, and then beat a hasty retreat to the Cape Fear River.

<sup>26</sup> When the Legislature met in January, 1781, Governor Nash complained that the Board of War had usurped his powers. For that body the Assembly substituted a Council Extraordinary, electing Richard Caswell, Alexander Martin, and Allen Jones as members.

tion immediately – and as this State has lately suffered so much & been in such Eminent Danger of being entirely overrun by the Enemy, I have every reason to hope the requisition will meet with no opposition – the State is now busily employed in drafting their regulars for our four Batalions, and as the militia by a late Law are subjected in case they desert their Colours in time of Action, & run away, to the condition of Continental Soldiers during the war, we expect to derive some good from the Evil they did in running away from the Enemy in action of the 15<sup>th</sup> at Guilford – and I am sorry on this occasion to acknowledge that the most important advantages were that day lost by the shameful conduct of our men – all ranks of people have seemed now fully sensible of the necessity of having regular and well appointed army, and that the Country cannot be any other way effectually defended – The British with their small force at Wilmington<sup>27</sup> still keep that post & are kept in it by a party of our militia who have once had a successful skirmish with them – it is pretty certain from my last Letter from General Green that Lord Cornwallis with his army is now in Cross Creek;<sup>28</sup> the General dont hint what he expects will be his Lordships next enterprise – if the General allows him 'tis not improbable he will now take some rest – with the highest respect and esteem – I have the honour to be

Yr. Excellency's most Obedt. & Hble Servant

FROM THOMAS BURKE<sup>29</sup>

Hillsborough May 7<sup>th</sup>. 1782

Sir

Mr Edward Winslow of Cross Creek in this State will have the honor of handing your Excellency this. he is an active, Spirited Citizen, who resided in the midst of our disaffected, and has been almost constantly in arms, – he is a native of Boston, the son of a clergyman, who early differed with him in politics and retired into New York, where, agreeably to Mr. Winslow's Intelligence, he has lately paid the last debt of Nature. the son, apprehensive that his aged mother may stand in need of his assistance, and supposing, also, that some affairs of his family may require his attention, proposes, with your permission, to go within the Enemy's Line for those purposes. I take the liberty of recommending his request to your Excellency's attention. He is a Sensible Intelligent Gentleman, and a member of our Legislature, and is able to give pretty good Idea of the *State* and *prospects* of affairs amongst us.

I have the honor to be with Sincere Esteem

and regard as well as warmest Wishes for

your Excellency's most obedient humble Servt

<sup>27</sup> Major James H. Craig commanded the British forces in Wilmington. General Lillington was aided by the militia under Generals Caswell and Butler.

<sup>28</sup> Now Fayetteville, North Carolina.

<sup>29</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Thomas Burke was governor of North Carolina, June 26, 1781–April 26, 1782. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, p. 417.

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS<sup>30</sup>North Carolina, June the 10<sup>th</sup> 1784

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose to your Excellency some acts<sup>31</sup> passed the last Session of our Legislature by which you will see in some measure the disposition of this State to comply with the views of Congress; as well, as to grant such further powers as may render the Confederation more competent to the purposes of the Union.

The act for levying our proportion of one million five hundred thousand dollars, exclusive of the impost, and empowering Congress to collect the same, will by no means raise so large a sum; it being only a land Tax, of six pence on every hundred acres of land, and a poll Tax of one shilling and six pence, on all white males from twenty-one upwards, and on all slaves from twelve years old to fifty. — it establishes the principle recommended by Congress, and I trust the good sense of this, and the other States, will soon (if they do not already) see the necessity of establishing solid a[nd] effectual measures to enable Congress to perform [its] engagements.

The members of the Legislature could not consent to vote the full sum required, after they had ceded all the lands westward of the Apalachian Mountains; they urged it was not necessary, since Congress were in possession of the cession of New York Virginia and North Carolina.

The Cession of our western land was much debated and opposed; The house of Commons were long divided whether to make the Tennessee Cumberland Mountains or the Apalachain our western boundary; but finally passed the act, as you see it, fifty three against forty one. — There are within our Cession more than three thousand men able to bear arms.

The recommendations of Congress respecting the 5<sup>th</sup> article of the Treaty is not complied with nor is there any thing done to carry the Treaty into effect and I suspect it will be difficult to induce us to think aright on this subject; (altho our citizens seem well disposed) while we have ambitious, discontented spirit, whos[e] popular existence depends, on forming the passions of the common people against the refugees. — the state cry of peculation and embezzlement of the public money aided by complaints of hard times and heavy taxes, was never listened to with more avidity than the clamours against the refugees and payment of British [deb]ts and this too by men, who could not possibly be [benefact]ors if all bona fide debts were wiped off with a sponge, but who must share in the disgrace of the country by such shameful unwarrantable conduct.

I have not in this State heard of a single objection to the commu-

<sup>30</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Benjamin Hawkins of Warren County was a member of the Continental Congress, 1781-84, 1786-87, and United States Senate, 1789-1795. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, pp. 909-912.

<sup>31</sup> For the acts mentioned, see Washington Papers, Library of Congress; *S. R.*, XXIV, pp. 543-546, 547-553, 557-568.

tation or rendering ample justice to the army—early in the spring there was circulated a pamphlet written by Burke<sup>32</sup> of South Carolina against the institution of Cincinnati which gave rise to some uneasiness to some people,<sup>33</sup> who were apprehensive this institution would be productive of an aristocracy dangerous to the principles of government—but a little reflection with the remembrance of the patience perseverance and sufferings of the army in defense of their just rights and liberties has worn down the suspicions in some measure; and will I hope teach them to put their trust in those, who in the worse of times stood the constant centinels over the liberties of their Country, and to suspect those only who have scre[e]ned themselves in hour of danger and now step forth to ravish the virtuous welldoer and his endeavours to adopt nice and equitable measures.

The Legislature has changed the annual election from March to August, and the annual meeting will be in October. I hope they then will amend such of our acts as are imperfect and pass such others respecting the treaty as may be [convenient?] with the wishes of those who are for wise and equitable measures.

I have the honour to be with great

Sincere esteem

Sir

your Excellencys

Most obedeint and

Most humble servant

FROM JAMES IREDELL<sup>34</sup>

Alexandria Sept 20<sup>th</sup>. 1790.

Sir,

It mortifies me extremely that I should be so near your seat without having it in my power to pay my respects to you and Mrs. Washington there which otherwise I should have had the greatest pleasure in doing. But unfortunately a continual sickness in my family detained me in New York so long that I have now not a moment to spare, considering that I have some business of consequence to transact in North Carolina if I possibly can before I proceed to Georgia. I beg leave to return my grateful thanks for the civilities and attention which Mrs. Iredell

<sup>32</sup> Aedamus Burke was one of the state judges of South Carolina. The article attributed to him "On the Society of Cincinnati and the Dangers of that Institution" was sent to Washington. Washington Papers, March, 1784, Library of Congress.

<sup>33</sup> A bill was introduced in the Legislature of North Carolina to prevent members of the Society of Cincinnati from sitting in the Assembly. S. R., XVII, pp. 133-134, 136, 140.

<sup>34</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress. James Iredell was Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1790-1799. Ashe, S. A., *Biographical History of North Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 198.

and myself had the honour to receive from you and Mrs. Washington in New York. None can more ardently wish for you and her happiness than we at all times shall do.

I have the honour to be

With the greatest respect,

Sir

Your most obedient Servant

FROM SAMUEL JOHNSTON<sup>35</sup>

Fayetteville State of

North - Carolina. 4<sup>th</sup> December 1789

Sir

By order of the Convention of the People of this State, I have the honor to transmit to you the Ratification and adoption of the Constitution of the United States by the said convention in behalf of the People.<sup>36</sup>

With Sentiment of the

highest esteem, I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most faithful

and obedeint Servant

FROM ALEXANDER MARTIN<sup>37</sup>

Danbury September 27<sup>th</sup>. 1791 -

Sir,

I beg leave to congratulate you on your Arrival from your Southern Tour at Philadelphia in perfect Health as the public prints have announced. At the same Time permit me to present you my Thanks for your great Condensation, and kind Interposition in having my Horses retaken on their Escape, and returned in the Morning you parted from me at Guilford Court House.

I am sorry Sir, from your short Stay in North Carolina that the Council of the State could not have been convened in Time, that the full Body of the Executive might have paid you on this Occasion that attention and Respect so justly your due, and which it would have been their pride to have done.

<sup>35</sup> Washington Letter Book, 17, Vol. I, pp. 15-16, Library of Congress. For a copy of the resolutions see *ibid.* Samuel Johnston was governor of North Carolina, Dec. 20, 1787 - Dec. 17, 1789. *North Carolina Manual, 1913*, p. 417.

<sup>36</sup> On November 21, 1789, the North Carolina Convention, by a vote of 195 to 77, ratified the Constitution of the United States. On January 12, 1790, Washington directed his secretary, Tobias Lear, to lay before the Senate a copy of the above letter, together with the resolutions of North Carolina. He also directed that the original papers were to be "lodged in the Office of the Secretary of State." Washington Letter Book, 17, Vol. I, p. 14, Library of Congress.

<sup>37</sup> North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, possesses the original; Library of Congress, photostat copy. Alexander Martin was governor of North Carolina, April 26, 1782-April, 1785, and Dec. 17, 1789-Dec. 14, 1792, and member of United States Senate 1793-1799. *North Carolina Manual, 1913*, pp. 417, 912-14.

As the Inhabitants of the Southern States felt themselves highly gratified with the great Mark of Respect you were pleased to show them in your late visit, and were emulous with each other of paying you in Return the most distinguished Honours; I pray you to be assured that though it was not in our power to make great Show of parade and ostentatious Displays of Opulence in this State on your Reception among us, yet no persons entertained a higher Sense of your eminent Virtues, and exalted Merit, and glow with purer affection for your person than the Citizens of North Carolina.

I have the Honour to be with kindest consideration of Respect,  
 Sir, your most obedient  
 humble Servant

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS<sup>38</sup>

Senate Chamber 27th January 1792

Sir,

This day drew the attention of the Senate to the evident impropriety in publishing their Executive proceedings. I stated, in as strong a point of view as I was capable of, the injustice and impolicy of suffering ourselves to become dupes to the foreign public characters resident at the seat of Government; by detailing in conversation any part of our proceedings.

Our Secretary<sup>39</sup> was imprudently, not intentionally ordered, in conformity with the usual mode of publishing appointments, to permit the printers to publish this to the Court of Spain.<sup>40</sup>

To remedy which, in future, the Senate have directed that a transcripts of their Executive Journal shall be furnished to the President, and that no part thereof be published by their Secretary.

I have the honour to be, with perfect respect

Sir, your most obedt servt.

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS<sup>41</sup>

Senate Chamber 10, Feby, 1792

Sir,

Prompted by the free and candid manner you expressed yourself on political affairs to me some days past, I shall without reserve, communicate to you the reasons which induced me yesterday to vote for striking out the second section in the bill which I enclose to you. — That I may be understood throughout I must take a retrospect on indian

<sup>38</sup> Washington Letter Book, 18, Vol. II, p. 46, Library of Congress.

<sup>39</sup> Samuel Otis was secretary to the Senate.

<sup>40</sup> See Tobias Lear to the Senate, Jan. 17, 1792, Washington Letter Book, 18, Vol. II, p. 47, Library of Congress.

<sup>41</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

affairs for some years back. During the war we acknowledged the Indians as brothers, told them of our difficulties, and embarrassments arising from our contest with Great Britain, assured them of our disposition, tho' unable, to furnish them such comforts as they had been accustomed to receive, urged them to be patient, and declared that when success crowned our efforts, they should be partakers of our good fortune: They were then acknowledged to be the possessors of the soil on which they lived.

At the close of the war, being anxiously desirous of paying to our officers and soldiers, as much of their wch earned dues; as was apparently within the view of the government, we seem to have forgotten altogether the rights of the Indians. They were treated as tenants at will, we seized on their lands, and made a division of the same as possessing allodial rights allotted certain portions to the indians for hunting ground, and did not even think of offering them compensation for any claims they might pretend to have to those reserved for other purposes of the government. This doctrine it might be expected would be disliked by the independent tribes. It was so, and was complained of by them (It is the source of their hostility.) However, we persued [sic] in this doctrine, like the Treaty of Fort Harmar in 1788. At this period the government persued different measures. The boundaries were recognized and established by a *principle of purchase*. Some of the now hostile Indians complained of the conduct of their brethren in ceding their lands. These complaints reached the government, and Governor St. Clair,<sup>42</sup> was ordered to remedy the defects, in some future treaty. But they would not attend to his invitation and assigned as a reason that he only wanted a relinquishment of their claims to their land and that they were unwilling to part with them. It was natural to expect that from our conduct,<sup>43</sup> they conceived themselves deprived of what they deemed most precious, that they would be in a state of hostility against us, and the more so, as the British in Canada were ready enough to misrepresent our conduct, to furnish them with military stores, and for some purposes arising from States or commercial jealousy, to encourage them.

I read at the last session of Congress the painful details of Harmar expedition,<sup>44</sup> and the measures proposed by the Secretary of War<sup>45</sup> to retrieve the honor of our military regulation and to restore peace, I acquiesced in the measures, not because I thought them right, but because I was told you approved of them, and that they would give efficacy

<sup>42</sup> Arthur St. Clair was the first governor of the Northwest Territory.

<sup>43</sup> In February, 1790, Washington sent his memorandum, "Errors of Government toward the Indians," to Senator Hawkins. The original draft is in Washington's handwriting, Washington Papers; and a copy of the memorandum is in Washington Letter Book, 13, pp. 258-261, Library of Congress.

<sup>44</sup> After Joseph Harmar was defeated on September 19, 1790, his forces slowly made their way to Fort Washington (Cincinnati), where he was again defeated on November 4, 1790.

<sup>45</sup> Henry Knox was Secretary of War.

to some possible plan, you had in contemplation. General Know told the committee of the Senate, that the President had in view to bring about a peace by other means than co-ercive. General Schuyler<sup>46</sup> and some others declared they would converse freely with you, and could point out how a peace could be obtained without the further effusion of blood. Since this I know of no efforts made by the executive to enduce indians to come to an accom[m]odation previously to the last defeat, except that of Gamelin which was a feeble one, that of Proctor of the Corn planter and one other, which failed from unforeseen difficulties. I thought and still think the measure of communicating with them abundant, at Vincents at Kiskaskia and even in Canada. There are French, the favorites of those people, and friendly to us. — While we contemplate the going into their country, we may bid adieu to peace, their attachment to their soil is such that they will part with it but with their lives. The Miami may be convenient to us but ruinous to them to part with it. They may be circumspected for aught I know with the western Indians and Canada, as the six nations are by their neighbors, and have no plans of their own to resort to.

I shall make no remarks on the defeat of the 4<sup>th</sup> of November.<sup>47</sup> You are a military Judge, I will only offer my opinion that the indians did not nor cannot exceed twelve hundred effective warriors. — As soon as the military arrangements were before the Senate I determined to examine more accurately than formerly what was proper for me to do. I applied to the Secretary of War for information on two points, first whether the plan sent in was the result of your opinion, or that of the war office, and secondly whether if it was committed, and the committee applied for your opinion it was likely you would give it. I understand his reply to the first to be that it was the result of his reflections submitted to you and by you to Congress. And as to the second he thought you would not like to give an opinion. I have determined to exercise my own. I have great respect for the War officer but he appears to me to be anxiously desirous of having considerable standing military force, all his views in my estimation tend to that end. He is not alone in that opinion we have some in the Senate who say that such an establishment is necessary, very more, and indispensable to the preservation of liberty. To a disposition of this sort, I attribute the feeble efforts made to purchase a peace. Those at the head of affairs to the westward are for war, all who are dependent on the department are for war, this is their harvest and the indians are to this moment wholly unacquainted with the real disposition of our government.

From the best view of our situation to my understanding, I am for completing the present establishment, adding the cavalry mentioned

<sup>46</sup> General John Philip Schuyler was a member of the Senate from New York.

<sup>47</sup> General Harmar was defeated at Fort Washington. The President then ordered Governor St. Clair to command personally the army in the Northwest.

in the bill, and making adequate provisions for such effective militia, as may be called out, and enabling the Executive to employ such indians as are friendly to us and willing to aid us. The present establishment and cavalry, brought all of them for the occasion to a point aided by a suitable militia, and the friendly indians under an officer of *activity*, will accomplish every wish I have on the subject which I confess are not many, I am for the establishment of the posts, not in their country but in our own; As long as we attempt to go into their country or to remain there, we shall be at war. Our Finances are unequal to the expensive establishment contemplated by some, we can with the form mentioned gain by victory, or purchase a peace. We should be to blame, to run any further risk of being insulted by the British. If they will not give up the posts. they will not quitely suffer an establishment in the neighborhood of them, we are unable to take them, and it is thus circumstanced, better for us to be passive for the present.

I beg you to be persuaded Sir, that altho I write freely to you only, That I hold it unbecoming in myself to write or speak, any thing that may lessen, the respect, due to the government and every affair of it.

I have the honor to be most respectfully

Sir;

your obedeient humble sevt

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS<sup>48</sup>

Senate Chamber 16 March 1792

Sir,

As I make it a rule to give my assent to all military nominations without inquiry, and shall continue to do so, so long as a military Judge shall be President of the United States. I hope it will not be deemed indelicate in me to offer the opinion of an individual, which has resulted from reflections on the conversation which I had last evening with you.

Col<sup>o</sup> Lee<sup>49</sup> as a military man certainly possesses a degree of enterprise caution and foresight not excelled by any of his contemporaries of equal rank. He has a comprehensive mind, he has gained experience in a sort of partisan warfare the best of all others for qualifying a man to command against Indians.

It may be objected to him that he was not of the rank in the late army to entitle him to the command.<sup>50</sup> To this I shall only repeat what I said in the Senate in the case of Demler, that the president had the exclusive right to nominate, and the fitness of the character, not the rank of the man, was the only enquiry to be made in the Senate, and that if

<sup>48</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>49</sup> Colonel Henry Lee is better known as "Light-Horse Harry" Lee.

<sup>50</sup> After much cogitation Washington gave his approval to "Mad Anthony" Wayne, who was his second choice.

the Senate did not possess a contrary proof, the nomination should be conclusively in favour of the person nominated. There is perhaps, on the score of rank, this further to be said of Col<sup>o</sup> Lee, that his present standing in society is an exalted and dignified one. He commanded I believe Gen<sup>l</sup> Pickens at the siege of Augusta, altho' the latter was of superior rank.<sup>51</sup>

I have the honor to be most respectfully

Sir

Your most obedient servt

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS<sup>52</sup>

Warrentown North Carolina 28 May 1795.

[Sir:]

Judging from my long acquaintance with and attachment to you, I have decided that a letter from me would not be unacceptable. Since my [return] from Philadelphia I have been at Halifax d[urin]g the sessi[on] of one of our [su]p[er]ior? circuit courts; and at two or three other places of public resort and I am happy to be able to inform you, that much of that imp[a]rity which manifest itself against public [inter]est? and me[asures] seems to have ab[at]ed and given place to a disposition f[avorab]le to the measures of fed[er]al g[overn]ment, as far as any fellow citizen is capable of understanding them. [illegible] has been no parties no [illegible] so[cie]ties, no g[ener]al tensions, and yet [illegible] any [vo]te without them. Since the [cr]y for speculating in public paper has ended the minds of the citizens are at ease and turn to industry and economy. They now talk on political subjects without warmth, and the more the mind expands itself and they see into objects the better the like. They all express an unbiased confidence in the President of the United States and anticipate good from all his actions. This is very different from that cold casualty of fault finding with which so many of them otherwise the papers alarmed.

As you take great delight in hearing of useful discoveries and improvements in every part of the United States, I may inform you that our enter[prising] citizen Major Harris had lately conducted s[ai]l and boat from the Dan River to the fall of Roanoke to Halifax, hit[herto]fo[re] d[eemed] impractical; he has demonstrated the n[aviga]tion of that long and be[auti]ful river, for two hundred miles, is likely to be improved great[ly] to the advan[tage] of those, who cultivate lands co[n]tigu[ous] thereto, in the t[wo] states b[order]ing on it

The season here promises to be favorable for cropping and our agricultural prospect considerable. We have been a little retarded in our Tobacco crop, by the fly injuring our plants, yet I believe there will be

<sup>51</sup> General Andrew Pickens distinguished himself as a general in the siege of Augusta and the battle of Cowpens.

<sup>52</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

enough in pretty good time. The frost or rather the freeze of the 11<sup>th</sup> of ap[r]il has destroyed the most valuable of our fruit, peaches, apples, pears, cherries and quince. But did not injure the grapes, gooseberries, currants, raspberries, strawberries, plums whortleberries and blackberries.

I beg the favour of you to assure Mrs. Washington of my sincere wishes for a long continuation of her health and happiness, to accept the same for yourself and to believe me with all imaginable respect

Your most obedient Servant

FROM WILLIAM FALKENER<sup>53</sup>

Warrenton 22<sup>nd</sup> Aug.<sup>st</sup> 1795.

Sir

Having been deputed to transmit the enclosed Address (containing the Sentiments of the Inhabitants of the County of Warren) with all convenient Speed, I know no Mode so likely to accelerate their Wishes, as the One I adopt through the Medium of my Friend Mr. Chas. Alexander.

I have only to add, that whatever may be the Issue of the momentous Question<sup>54</sup> which affords me the Honour of addressing you, the Remembrance of your past Services, and a Belief that your future Conduct will be guided by the purest Intentions of promoting the general Weal, will induce my fervent Supplications, that you may long and uninterruptedly enjoy those Blessings you have so eminently contributed to obtain for your Fellow-Citizens.—

I am with great Deference

Yours &c,

FROM JOSEPH LEECH<sup>55</sup>

Newbern North Carolina 19<sup>th</sup> April 1796

Sir

The Inhabitants of the Town of Newbern hope they may stand excused for any forwardness, or indiscretion which may appear in this

<sup>53</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress. On September 14, 1795, Washington replied to the above letter. Washington Letter Book, 31, p. 120, Library of Congress. William Falkener settled in Warrenton after 1790, where he opened a school for girls in 1802. He died in 1819. Coon, Charles L., *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840*, p. 588 ff.

<sup>54</sup> The Jay Treaty was approved by the Senate, June 24, 1795. See Washington Papers, Library of Congress, for the following address of the citizens of Warrenton:

We the Inhabitants of the County of Warren, in the State of North Carolina, having assembled for the Purpose of taking into Consideration the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, & Navigation lately passed by the Senate of the United States.—being desirous of evidencing our hearty Concurrence with the almost unanimous Sense of our Fellow Citizens who deem many Parts of it inimical to the Constitution, and most of it disadvantageous to the Interests and derogatory to the Honour, & Dignity of the United States, most respectfully (for Reasons we forbear to state as it would only be reiterating what you have been generally addressed with) intimate, That it is our earnest Wish you will refuse ratifying the Same:—By which, we humbly conceive, you will evince that your Attachment to the Constitution is unalterable, and your Zeal to promote the Happiness and Welfare of your Constitution unabating, and undiminished.

Signed by the Order of the Meeting held at Warrenton, the 22<sup>nd</sup> Augst. 1795.

<sup>55</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Washington replied to the above letter May 5, 1796. During the Revolution Joseph Leech served as a colonel in the militia and judge of the Admiralty Court at New Bern.

address, if the[y] convey to you expressions of gratitude and approbation, as the only return your fellow Citizens have the power of making for the hard and in some instances, vexatious burden, which their affections and confidence have placed upon you -

We consider, Sir, that your having refused to comply with the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 24.<sup>th</sup> March,<sup>56</sup> upon the grounds you have taken among the most signal acts of service which your eminent Virtues & Talents have rendered your Country; as the influence of your examples, may prolong the date of the Constitution, many ages beyond what might have been the short period of its existence, had you admitted the principle, and yielded to the requisition of the House - It is the pride and the boast of every enlightened American, that the principles which have been associated in the composition of our most excellent Constitution, have eminently qualified it to extend the most perfect liberty, security and protection, to every rank and condition of life, and they, who know how to appreciate such a blessing, cannot see any act, that may have the most remote tendency to rob them of it, without alarm, nor behold any exertions to preserve it, but with emotions of gratitude -

In addition, suffer us to express the warmest wishes which grateful hearts can feel for your welfare, that it may be the happiness of America, long to experience the Wisdom of your influence in the management

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<sup>56</sup> John Jay negotiated the Jay Treaty. See Washington Papers, Library of Congress, for the following address of the citizens of New Bern, North Carolina:

NEWBERN NORTH CAROLINA April 19th 1796

Pursuant to the notice of yesterday the Citizens of the Town of Newbern Assembled at the Court house to take into consideration the propriety of presenting an address to the President of the United States on the subject of his message in answer to the Resolution of the House of Representatives of the 24th. March 1796-

Colonel Joseph Leech in the C[h]air

On Motion of the Resolution of the House of Representatives of the 24th. March and the President's answer were read; whereupon, the following resolutions were introduced, and unanimously adopted-

1st Resolved, that this meeting approve in the highest degree possible of the firm and independent temper with which the President of the United States has withstood a compliance with the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 24th March requesting him to lay before the House, a copy of the instructions to the Minister of the United States, who negotiated the Treaty with the King of Great Britain together with the Correspondence and other documents relative to that Treaty.

2nd Resolved therefore that an address be prepared and forwarded to the President of the United States expressive of the gratitude and admiration with which every Individual present feels himself agitated, on the recollection of the virtues, integrity, and real love of Country, which determined the President to resist the Resolutions of the House, in support of our most excellent Constitution, and in preservation of the liberty, tranquility and happiness, which as long as the harmony of it's balances remains undisturbed, it is calculated to ensure us.-

3rd Resolved by a majority, that it has been a subject of some regret with the Citizens who compose this meeting that so much of the public time and Treasure should be consumed in a discussion, which a candid resort to the Constitution in the first instance, might possibly have prevented-

Ordered that the foregoing resolutions be prepared for publication in Mr. Martin's Gazette of Saturday next.

By order of the Meeting  
JOSEPH LEECH, Chairm.

of affairs; and that you may long enjoy that satisfaction which the confidence and gratitude of a happy People is capable of conferring –

In behalf of the Citizens of the Town of Newbern I have the Honor to be with

The most profound Respect

Sir

Your most obedient

and very humble Servant

FROM SAMUEL ASHE<sup>57</sup>

Raleigh 30<sup>th</sup> December 1796

Sir,

The General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, at their late Session, apprised of your intention to retire from Office; have address<sup>d</sup>, you upon the much regretted occasion; and have requested me to transmit their address<sup>58</sup> to you; I now do myself the honour to present it to your Excellency; and to assure you that on my part I sensibly participate in their feelings upon the unpleasant event; and most cordially join them in their just and grateful retributions; and in their sincere and ardent wishes, that every filicity may attend you in the shade of retirement –

I am with the greatest

Your Excellencies

Most Obt Hb St

FROM THOMAS DOCKERY<sup>59</sup>

State of N. Carolina Richmond County 25<sup>th</sup>. May 1797.

Hon. Sr.

You may think strange to see the enclosed, but I beg your patience, to view what comes from my trembling hand, being in the 80.<sup>th</sup> year of my age; and having a turn from my youth, to a military life, I made use of the first opportunity which offered in the year 1746. leaving a beloved wife & Dear young Daughter to keep house; while I thought to distinguish my Self before the walls of Quebec. But before two years ended, the war broke & I returned home empty of ..... & In the year 1755. As it did not sute me to take the field: I became a recruiting officer impowered by Gov.<sup>r</sup> Sharp. &, during that, war I sent a number of Men to different places from Queen Anns County on the Eastn shore of Maryland

<sup>57</sup> Washington Papers; Washington Letter Book, 31, p. 246, Library of Congress. Samuel Ashe was governor of North Carolina, Nov. 19, 1795–Dec. 7, 1798. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, p. 417.

<sup>58</sup> The resolutions of the North Carolina Assembly, December 23, 1796, were signed by Benj. Smith, Speaker of the Senate, and M. Mathews, Speaker of the House of Commons. Washington Papers; Washington Letter Book, 31, pp. 246–247, Library of Congress.

<sup>59</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

where I was born & then lived – By this means I got information from one Hendrix of the battle & the Commander at the great Meadows! From which time a Spark of love took place in my heart for the Great W.....n, and has for more than 20 years past been blown up to flame, tho never haveing had an opportunity of communicating of it for I conceded that, one in your Station ought not to be hindered one moment from the great task you had taken either in the field or Cabinet! But as you are now returned to rest, I make free to inform you, that for some months or years after your Victory at York over his Lordship, I had it in contemplation to send you some of my baird to help to pad your Saddle, thinking my Self would be much honored to have the Father of my liberty (under God.) mounted on my Gray hairs. Be[cause of] the above reasons, I omitted the matter till no[w] & as I presume you are [now to ?] prepare for greater matters, I mean, for removing from time to Eternity [I want?] to send the enclosed to help to fill the Pillow that may be put under [your] head after Death! your acceptance thereof will be very Satisfactory, & that we may have a Joyfull resurection & that word of promise in Pauls Epistle to the Phil. 3<sup>rd</sup> Chap. 25 ver. to be read Love to us is the [desire?] & Shall be the prayer off Hon<sup>d</sup>. S.<sup>r</sup> Y.<sup>r</sup> unknown friend

& unworthy Servt.

N. B. It would be endless to numerate my afflictions in the time of war, being three times taken prisoner & two or three times plundered! My Body, mind & estate suffered: yet the main thing held me yrs. Viz that I was never an hour or a moment in dispair of liberty in the En[d?] Bless the Lord O my Soul therefore!

FROM ALEXANDER MARTIN<sup>60</sup>

Philadelphia, Feb. 4.<sup>th</sup> 1798.

Sir,

I beg you to permit the enclosed little dramatic piece to wait on you in your Retirement, – it was written by me this Session of Congress merely for amusement, and partly with a View by bringing forward in this manner the most prominent Characters in our late Revolution, to reconcile in some Measure if possible the present jarring political Sentiments that unfortunately distract our Public Councils.<sup>61</sup> As in the great Events of the Revolution, so in this lit[tle] poetic Essay you Sir, justly hold the most distinguished place, and should the perusal

<sup>60</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>61</sup> Here he is probably referring to the X. Y. Z. affair and the political dissension in America which led to the Alien and Sedition acts and the counter plans of the Republicans.

afford you any agreeable Entertainment it will give me Pleasure;<sup>62</sup>  
Otherwise it may be treated as other Trash and flung away.

I have the Honour to be with very great Respect  
Sir, Your most humble Servant

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS<sup>63</sup>

Tellico in the State of Tennessee 4 Nov. 1798

[Sir:]

The bearer of this, Mr. Silas Densmoor is agent of the Cherokees, and one of those chosen to carry into effect the benevolent plan devised by you, for bettering the condition of the Indians in the southern parts of the United States. He is going on a visit to the Secretary of War,<sup>64</sup> and will pay his respects to you. It is with pleasure I recommend him to you, as a man who had faithfully and ably executed the trust reposed in him; and from whom you will have the satisfaction to learn, that the plan has succeeded notwithstanding the violence with which it has been assailed by the mischief makers in this quarter. The Cherokee are no longer to be called Savages, they are a decent orderly set of people, who possess unbounded confidence in the Justice of our government, and are worthy of its continued attention.

I beg you to assure Mrs. Washington of my sincere wishes for a long continuance of her health and happiness to accept the same for yourself and to believe me very sincerely and respectfully.

My Dear Sir,  
Your obdt Humble Servt.

FROM WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE<sup>65</sup>

Halifax Dec. 30, 98

Sir

Inclosed you will receive a recommendation for several company officers,<sup>66</sup> taken from different parts of the State, agreeably to the principle of distinction mentioned in your letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> of October.<sup>67</sup> This list is not complete, but as it was of importance, that the unremitting business should be going on during the winter, or as early as possible.

<sup>62</sup> On February 22, 1798, Washington wrote Martin that he "read with pleasure; highly applauding the motives wch. gave birth to 'the essay,' for lamentable, and much to be regretted indeed it is so, that in a crisis like the present, when our hearts should be united and at their post . . . that nothing but internal disposition & political hostilities are found in the Council of our common country." Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>63</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress. In 1796 Washington appointed Hawkins agent to the Creek Indians south of the Ohio.

<sup>64</sup> James McHenry was Secretary of War.

<sup>65</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress. William Richardson Davie was governor of North Carolina, Dec. 7, 1798 - Nov. 23, 1799. *North Carolina Manual, 1913*, p. 417. In July, 1798, Washington appointed him brigadier general of the new army.

<sup>66</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* October 24, 1798. The draft is in Washington's handwriting.

I thought it my duty to forward the names of those Gentlemen of whose character, I was fully satisfied, & whose willingness to serve has been ascertained.<sup>68</sup> The remainder from the other Districts shall be sent on as soon as the necessary information can be procured, which will be in the course of a post or two.<sup>69</sup> As to the field officers, I have not yet procured satisfactory information as to proper characters for the appointment of Majors, but would recommend James Reid of Wilmington as a Lieutenant Colonel. He served through the revolutionary war with considerable reputation & was an old Captain at the close of the war. He is the same gentleman mentioned in the list from the War Office under the number 5.

I have the honor to be with  
great respect Sir your  
most obt servant

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<sup>68</sup> In Washington's letter of October 24, he requested General Davie to indicate the fitness of each man listed. After the name of each officer recommended, Davie commented on the fitness and ability of the man. Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>69</sup> Evidently Davie sent in reports prior to December 30, because on December 28, 1798, Washington acknowledged the receipt of such list and ordered Davie to wait until General Pickering came south to view the army recruiting service. Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

# CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1789-1934

Compiled by D. L. CORBITT

When North Carolina adopted<sup>1</sup> the federal Constitution on November 21, 1789, she was entitled to send two senators and five representatives to the Congress of the United States, according to the constitutional apportionment.<sup>2</sup> The General Assembly at the session of 1789 made provision<sup>3</sup> for electing these representatives. The State was divided into five congressional divisions; and each division was composed of two judicial districts. This law was to remain in force until the federal census was completed. But on February 25, 1790, North Carolina's two senators, Benjamin Hawkins and Samuel Johnston, acting under instructions of an act passed by the General Assembly on December 22, 1789, delivered to the Congress of the United States a deed<sup>4</sup> for North Carolina's western lands. This territory formed the Western Division of the congressional apportionment, which was composed of Washington, Sullivan, Greene, Hawkins, Davidson, Sumner, and Tennessee counties. When this land was accepted by Congress<sup>5</sup> on April 2, 1790, the General Assembly redistricted the State, as she was still entitled to five representatives. The new districts were called the Albemarle, the Roanoke, the Cape Fear, the Centre, and the Yadkin divisions. Some of the new districts were formed by judicial districts, and some were formed by specific counties, disregarding the judicial districts.

By 1792 the first federal census had been completed and tabulated. According to this tabulation, North Carolina was entitled to ten representatives. Thus the General Assembly divided the State into ten congressional districts. The districts were formed by contiguous counties whose population approximated the population in each of the other districts.

North Carolina became a member of the Union in 1789, with

<sup>1</sup> Ashe, S. A., *History of North Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Constitution of the United States, Article I, Section 2.

<sup>3</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-3. (Hereafter this will be cited as S. R.)

<sup>4</sup> Ashe, S. A., *History of North Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

five representatives. By 1812 she had had such growth in her population that she was entitled to thirteen representatives. However, her population between 1812 and 1865 decreased so much that she was only entitled to seven representatives on the later date.

Her population has shown a steady but slow increase since 1865, and her representation has increased from seven in 1865 to eleven in 1931. However, her largest representation was between 1812 and 1842.

### CONGRESSIONAL DIVISIONS IN 1789<sup>1</sup>

#### EDENTON AND NEW BERN DIVISION.

*Edenton*<sup>2</sup> *District*. Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Tyrrell.

*New Bern District*. Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Dobbs, Hyde, Johnston, Jones, Pitt, and Wayne.

#### ROANOKE DIVISION.

*Hillsboro District*. Caswell, Chatham, Granville, Orange, Randolph, and Wake.

*Halifax District*. Edgecombe, Franklin, Halifax, Martin, Nash, Northampton, and Warren.

#### CAPE FEAR DIVISION.

*Wilmington District*. Bladen, Brunswick, Duplin, New Hanover, and Onslow.

*Cape Fear District*. Cumberland, Moore, Richmond, Robeson, and Sampson.

#### WESTERN DIVISION.

*Washington District*. Greene, Hawkins, Sullivan, and Washington.

*Mero District*. Davidson, Sumner, and Tennessee.

#### YADKIN DIVISION.

*Salisbury District*. Anson, Guilford, Iredell, Mecklenburg, Montgomery, Rockingham, Rowan, and Surry.

*Morgan District*. Burke, Lincoln, Rutherford, and Wilkes.

<sup>1</sup> North Carolina was allotted five representatives to Congress until a census return was completed, which was to be the basis for representation. Constitution of the United States, Article I, Section 2. On November 21, 1789, North Carolina adopted the Federal Constitution. The General Assembly at the session of 1789 passed an act providing for the election of five representatives to Congress. The State was divided into five divisions, namely: the Edenton and New Bern Division, the Roanoke Division, the Cape Fear Division, the Western Division, and the Yadkin Division. This act provided for each division to be composed of two judicial districts. The judicial districts were composed of counties arranged so as to make the superior courts as convenient as possible for the people in the districts. Laws of North Carolina, 1789. S. R., Vol. XXV, pp. 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> The judicial districts as formed by an act passed in 1777 and amended by various acts passed between 1777 and 1789 have been worked in this compilation. For detailed information and proper citations concerning this compilation see "Judicial Districts of North Carolina, 1746-1934." *North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. XII, pp. 45-61.

## CONGRESSIONAL DIVISIONS IN 1790

ALBEMARLE<sup>3</sup> DIVISION.

Beaufort, Bertie, Camden, Carteret, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Hyde, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Pitt, and Tyrrell.

## ROANOKE DIVISION.

Craven, Dobbs,<sup>4</sup> Edgecombe, Glasgow,<sup>4</sup> Halifax, Jones, Lenoir,<sup>4</sup> Martin, Nash, Northampton, and Wayne.

## CAPE FEAR DIVISION.

Anson, Bladen, Brunswick, Cumberland, Duplin, Johnston, Moore, New Hanover, Onslow, Richmond, Robeson, and Sampson.

## CENTRE DIVISION.

*Hillsboro*<sup>5</sup> District. Caswell, Chatham, Granville, Orange, Randolph, and Wake.

Franklin, and Warren.

## YADKIN DIVISION.

*Salisbury*<sup>5</sup> District. Guilford, Iredell, Mecklenburg, Montgomery, Rockingham, Rowan, and Surry.

*Morgan*<sup>5</sup> District. Buncombe,<sup>6</sup> Burke,<sup>6</sup> Lincoln, Rutherford,<sup>6</sup> and Wilkes.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1792<sup>7</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Ashe,<sup>8</sup> Buncombe, Burke, Lincoln, Rutherford, and Wilkes.

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Cabarrus, Iredell, Mecklenburg, Montgomery, and Rowan.

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Caswell, Guilford, Rockingham, Stokes, and Surry.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Chatham, Orange, Person, and Randolph.

<sup>3</sup> In 1789 the General Assembly passed an act authorizing her senators or one of her senators and two representatives to execute a deed ceding her western territory to the United States. *S. R.*, Vol. XV, pp. 4-6. Congress accepted the deed and cession April 2, 1790. Ashe, *S. A., History of North Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 120. This cession of land placed the Western Congressional District of North Carolina in what is now the state of Tennessee. Thus a redivision of North Carolina for the election of representatives in Congress was necessary. In 1790 the General Assembly made provision for this change. *S. R.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 64-65. The law still provided for five congressional divisions, as follows: Albemarle, which was composed of specified counties; Roanoke, which was composed of certain counties; Cape Fear, which was composed of certain counties; the Centre, which was composed of the Hillsboro Judicial District and Franklin and Warren counties; and the Yadkin, which was composed of Salisbury and Morgan judicial districts. *S. R.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 64-65.

<sup>4</sup> Dobbs County was abolished in 1791 and Lenoir and Glasgow counties were formed from it. They remained in the same congressional district. *Laws of North Carolina, 1791*, Ch. 47.

<sup>5</sup> For the counties in this division see congressional districts of 1789 above. Anson which was in the Salisbury District was transferred to Cape Fear Division in 1789.

<sup>6</sup> Buncombe was erected out of Burke and Rutherford counties in 1791. *Laws of North Carolina, 1791*, Ch. 52.

<sup>7</sup> When the census return of 1790 was completed, the General Assembly redivided the State according to population. The act redividing the State was passed in 1792. *Laws of North Carolina, 1792*, Ch. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Ashe County was formed from Wilkes in 1799, and remained in the same congressional district. *Laws of North Carolina, 1799*, Ch. 36.

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Franklin, Granville, Nash, Wake, and Warren.

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Bladen, Brunswick, Duplin, New Hanover, Onslow, and Sampson.

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Anson, Cumberland, Moore, Richmond, and Robeson.

## EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell, and Washington.<sup>9</sup>

## NINTH DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Edgecombe, Halifax, Martin, Northampton, and Pitt.

## TENTH DISTRICT.

Carteret, Craven, Glasgow,<sup>10</sup> Hyde, Johnston, Jones, Lenoir, and Wayne.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1802<sup>11</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Pasquotank, and Perquimans.

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Bertie, Halifax, Martin, and Northampton.

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Edgecombe, Hyde, Pitt, Tyrrell, and Washington.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Carteret, Craven, Greene, Johnston, Jones, Lenoir, and Wayne.

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus,<sup>12</sup> Duplin, New Hanover, Onslow, and Sampson.

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Franklin, Granville, Nash, and Warren.

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Anson, Cumberland, Montgomery, Moore, Richmond, and Robeson.

## EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Chatham, Orange, and Wake.

## NINTH DISTRICT.

Caswell, Guilford, Person, Randolph, and Rockingham.

## TENTH DISTRICT.

Cabarrus, Mecklenburg, and Rowan.

<sup>9</sup> Washington County was formed from Tyrrell in 1799, and remained in the same congressional district. *Laws of North Carolina, 1799*, Chs. 36, 37.

<sup>10</sup> Glasgow was changed to Greene in 1799. *Laws of North Carolina, 1799*, Ch. 39.

<sup>11</sup> *Laws of North Carolina, 1802*, Ch. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Columbus County was formed from Brunswick in 1808 and remained in the same congressional district. *Laws of North Carolina, 1808*, Ch. 1.

## ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

Buncombe, Burke, Haywood,<sup>13</sup> Lincoln, and Rutherford.

## TWELFTH DISTRICT.

Ashe, Iredell, Stokes, Surry, and Wilkes.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1812<sup>14</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Pasquotank, and Perquimans.

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Bertie, Halifax, Martin, and Northampton.

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Edgecombe, Hyde, Pitt, Tyrrell, and Washington.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Carteret, Craven, Greene, Johnston, Jones, Lenoir, and Wayne.

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Duplin, New Hanover, Onslow, and Sampson.

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Franklin, Granville, Nash, and Warren.

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Anson, Cumberland, Montgomery, Moore, Richmond, and Robeson.

## EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Orange, Person, and Wake.

## NINTH DISTRICT.

Caswell, Guilford, Rockingham, and Stokes.

## TENTH DISTRICT.

Chatham, Davidson,<sup>15</sup> Randolph, and Rowan.

## ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

Cabarrus, Lincoln, and Mecklenburg.

## TWELFTH DISTRICT.

Buncombe, Burke, Haywood, Macon,<sup>16</sup> Rutherford, and Yancey.<sup>17</sup>

## THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.

Ashe, Iredell, Surry, and Wilkes.

<sup>13</sup> Haywood County was formed from Buncombe in 1808 and remained in the same congressional district. *Laws of North Carolina, 1808*, Ch. I.

<sup>14</sup> Potter, Hen., Taylor, J. L., Yancey, Bartlett, *Laws of the State of North Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 1224; *Laws of North Carolina, 1812*, Ch. 6. There was no other change in the congressional districts until 1836.

<sup>15</sup> Davidson County was formed from Rowan in 1822. There was no mention of a change in the congressional district. *Laws of North Carolina, 1822*, Chs. 47, 48.

<sup>16</sup> Macon County was formed from Haywood in 1828. *Laws of North Carolina, Session 1828-1829*, Chs. 50, 51.

<sup>17</sup> Yancey County was formed from Burke and Buncombe in 1833. *Laws of North Carolina, 1833-34*, Chs. 83, 84, 85.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1836<sup>18</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Pasquotank, and Perquimans.

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Bertie, Halifax, Martin, and Northampton.

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Edgecombe, Hyde, Pitt, Tyrrell, and Washington.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Carteret, Craven, Greene, Johnston, Jones, Lenoir, and Wayne.

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Duplin, New Hanover, Onslow, and Sampson.

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Franklin, Granville, Nash, and Warren.

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Anson, Cumberland, Montgomery, Moore, Richmond, Robeson, and Stanly.<sup>19</sup>

## EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Orange, Person, and Wake.

## NINTH DISTRICT.

Caswell, Guilford, Rockingham, and Stokes.

## TENTH DISTRICT.

Chatham, Davidson, Davie, Randolph, and Rowan.

## ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

Cabarrus, Cleveland,<sup>20</sup> Lincoln, and Mecklenburg.

## TWELFTH DISTRICT.

Buncombe, Burke, Cherokee,<sup>21</sup> Haywood, Henderson,<sup>22</sup> Macon, Rutherford, and Yancey.

## THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.

Ashe, Caldwell,<sup>23</sup> Iredell, Surry, and Wilkes.

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<sup>18</sup> *Revised Statutes of North Carolina, 1836-1837*, Vol. I, Ch. 72.

<sup>19</sup> Stanly County was formed from Montgomery in 1841. *Laws of North Carolina, 1840-41*, Chs. 13, 14.

<sup>20</sup> Cleveland County was formed from Rutherford and Lincoln in 1841. The law provided that the territory embraced in the new county should be represented in Congress in the same manner as it had been before the county was erected, or until the legislature should make other provisions. *Laws of North Carolina, 1840-41*, Chs. 9, 10.

<sup>21</sup> Cherokee County was formed from Macon in 1839. *Laws of North Carolina, 1838-39*, Chs. 10, 11.

<sup>22</sup> Henderson County was formed from Buncombe in 1838. *Laws of North Carolina, 1838-39*, Chs. 12, 13.

<sup>23</sup> Caldwell County was formed from Burke and Wilkes in 1841. The law provided that the territory embraced in the new county should be represented in Congress in the same manner as it had been before the county was erected, or until the legislature should make other provisions. *Laws of North Carolina, 1840-41*, Chs. 11, 12.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1842<sup>24</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Buncombe, Burke, Caldwell, Cherokee, Cleveland, Haywood, Henderson, McDowell,<sup>25</sup> Macon, Rutherford, and Yancey.

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Cabarrus, Catawba,<sup>26</sup> Davie, Gaston,<sup>27</sup> Iredell, Lincoln, Mecklenburg, and Rowan.

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Ashe, Caswell, Rockingham, Stokes, Surry, and Wilkes.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Anson, Davidson, Guilford, Montgomery, Randolph, Richmond, Stanly, and Union.<sup>28</sup>

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Chatham, Cumberland, Johnston, Moore, Wake, and Wayne.

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Duplin, Jones, Lenoir, New Hanover, Onslow, Robeson, and Sampson.

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Franklin, Granville, Halifax, Person, Orange, and Warren.

## EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Edgecombe, Greene, Hyde, Nash, Pitt, Tyrrell, Washington.

## NINTH DISTRICT.

Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Martin, Northampton, Pasquotank, and Perquimans.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1847<sup>29</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Buncombe, Burke, Caldwell, Cherokee, Cleveland, Haywood, Henderson, Jackson,<sup>30</sup> McDowell, Macon, Madison,<sup>31</sup> Rutherford, Watauga,<sup>32</sup> and Yancey.

<sup>24</sup> *Laws of the State of North Carolina, 1842-43, Ch. 24.*

<sup>25</sup> McDowell County was formed from Rutherford and Burke in 1842. *Laws of North Carolina, 1842-43, Chs. 10, 11.*

<sup>26</sup> Catawba County was formed from Lincoln in 1842. *Laws of North Carolina, 1842-43, Chs. 8, 9.*

<sup>27</sup> Gaston County was formed from Lincoln in 1846. *Laws of North Carolina, 1846-47, Chs. 24, 25.*

<sup>28</sup> Union County was formed from Anson and Mecklenburg in 1842. *Laws of North Carolina, 1842-43, Chs. 12, 13.*

<sup>29</sup> *Laws of North Carolina, 1846-47, Ch. 21.*

<sup>30</sup> Jackson County was formed from Haywood and Macon in 1851. *Laws of North Carolina, 1850-1851, Chs. 38, 39.*

<sup>31</sup> Madison County was formed from Buncombe and Yancey in 1851. *Laws of North Carolina, 1850-51, Chs. 36, 37.*

<sup>32</sup> Watauga County was formed from Ashe, Wilkes, Caldwell, and Yancey in 1849. This law provided that the territory embraced in the new county should be represented in Congress in the same manner as it had been before the county was erected, or until the legislature should make other provisions. *Laws of North Carolina, 1848-49, Chs. 25, 26.*

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Ashe, Alexander,<sup>33</sup> Catawba, Davie, Iredell, Rowan, Surry, Wilkes, and Yadkin.<sup>34</sup>

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Anson, Cabarrus, Gaston, Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Montgomery, Moore, Richmond, Stanly, and Union.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Davidson, Forsyth,<sup>35</sup> Guilford, Randolph, Rockingham, and Stokes.

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Alamance,<sup>36</sup> Caswell, Chatham, Granville, Person, and Orange.

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Edgecombe, Franklin, Halifax, Johnston, Nash, Wake, and Warren.

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Cumberland, Duplin, New Hanover, Onslow, Robeson, and Sampson.

## EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Greene, Hyde, Jones, Lenoir, Pitt, Tyrrell, Washington, and Wayne.

## NINTH DISTRICT.

Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Martin, Northampton, Pasquotank, and Perquimans.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1852<sup>37</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Halifax, Hertford, Martin, Northampton, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell, and Washington.

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Carteret, Craven, Edgecombe, Greene, Hyde, Jones, Lenoir, Onslow, Pitt, and Wayne.

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Cumberland, Duplin, Harnett,<sup>38</sup> New Hanover, Richmond, Robeson, and Sampson.

<sup>33</sup> Alexander County was formed from Iredell, Caldwell, and Wilkes in 1847. The law provided that the territory embraced in the new county should be represented in Congress in the same manner it had been before the county was erected, or until the legislature should make other provisions. *Laws of North Carolina, 1846-47*, Chs. 22, 23.

<sup>34</sup> Yadkin County was formed from Surry in 1850. *Laws of North Carolina, 1850-51*, Chs. 40, 41.

<sup>35</sup> Forsyth County was formed from Stokes in 1849. *Laws of North Carolina 1848-49*, Chs. 23, 24.

<sup>36</sup> Alamance County was formed from Orange in 1849. *Laws of North Carolina, 1848-49*, Chs. 14, 15.

<sup>37</sup> *Laws of North Carolina, 1853*, Ch. 21.

<sup>38</sup> Harnett County was formed from Cumberland in 1855. *Laws of North Carolina, 1854-55*, Chs. 8, 9.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Franklin, Granville, Johnston, Nash, Orange, Wake, Warren, and Wilson.<sup>39</sup>

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Alamance, Caswell, Chatham, Guilford, Montgomery, Moore, Person, and Randolph.

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Alexander, Alleghany,<sup>40</sup> Ashe, Davidson, Davie, Forsyth, Iredell, Rockingham, Stokes, Surry, and Yadkin.

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Anson, Cabarrus, Catawba, Cleveland, Gaston, Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Rowan, Stanly, and Union.

## EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Buncombe, Burke, Caldwell, Cherokee, Clay,<sup>41</sup> Haywood, Henderson, Jackson, McDowell, Macon, Madison, Mitchell,<sup>42</sup> Polk<sup>43</sup> Rutherford, Transylvania,<sup>44</sup> Watauga, Wilkes, and Yancey.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1861<sup>45</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Gates, Hertford, Martin, Northampton, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell, and Washington.

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Edgecombe, Greene, Halifax, Hyde, Lenoir, Pitt, and Wilson.

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Carteret, Craven, Duplin, Johnston, Jones, Onslow, Sampson, and Wayne.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Cumberland, Harnett, New Hanover, Richmond, and Robeson.

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Franklin, Granville, Nash, Orange, Wake, and Warren.

<sup>39</sup> Wilson County was formed from Edgecombe, Nash, Johnston, and Wayne in 1855. The law provided that the territory embraced in the new county should be represented in Congress in the same manner as it had been before the new county was erected, or until the legislature should make other provisions. *Laws of North Carolina, 1854-55*, Chs. 12, 13.

<sup>40</sup> Alleghany County was formed from Ashe in 1859. It remained in same district. *Laws of North Carolina, 1858-59*, Chs. 3, 4.

<sup>41</sup> Clay County was formed from Cherokee in 1861. *Laws of North Carolina, 1860-61*, Chs. 6, 7.

<sup>42</sup> Mitchell County was formed from Watauga, Caldwell, Burke, and McDowell in 1861. *Laws of North Carolina, 1860-61*, Chs. 8, 9.

<sup>43</sup> Polk County was formed from Rutherford and Henderson in 1855. It remained in same congressional district. *Laws of North Carolina, 1854-55*, Chs. 10, 11.

<sup>44</sup> Transylvania County was formed from Henderson and Jackson counties in 1861. *Laws of North Carolina, 1860-61*, Chs. 10, 11.

<sup>45</sup> *Laws of North Carolina, 1860-61, Second Extra Session, 1861*, Ch. 3.

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Alamance, Caswell, Forsyth, Guilford, Person, Rockingham, and Stokes.

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Anson, Chatham, Davidson, Montgomery, Moore, Randolph, and Stanly.

## EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Cabarrus, Catawba, Cleveland, Gaston, Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Rowan, and Union.

## NINTH DISTRICT.

Alexander, Alleghany, Ashe, Burke, Caldwell, Davie, Iredell, Surry, Wilkes, and Yadkin.

## TENTH DISTRICT.

Buncombe, Cherokee, Clay, Haywood, Henderson, Jackson, McDowell, Macon, Madison, Mitchell, Polk, Rutherford, Transylvania, Watauga, and Yancey.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1865<sup>46</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Dare,<sup>47</sup> Gates, Halifax, Hertford, Hyde, Martin, Northampton, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Tyrrell, and Washington.

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Carteret, Craven, Duplin, Edgecombe, Greene, Jones, Lenoir, New Hanover, Onslow, Pitt, Wayne, and Wilson.

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Anson, Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Cumberland, Harnett, Montgomery, Moore, Richmond, Robeson, Sampson, and Stanly.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Chatham, Franklin, Granville, Johnston, Nash, Orange, Wake, and Warren.

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Alamance, Caswell, Davidson, Forsyth, Guilford, Person, Randolph, Rockingham, Stokes, and Surry.

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Alexander, Cabarrus, Catawba, Davie, Gaston, Iredell, Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Rowan, Union, Wilkes, and Yadkin.

<sup>46</sup> *Ordinances passed by the North Carolina State Convention, Session 1865-66, Ch. 4.*

<sup>47</sup> Dare County was formed from Currituck, Tyrrell, and Hyde in 1870. It was not allowed representation until the next congressional apportionment. *Laws of North Carolina, 1869-70, Ch. 36.*

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Alleghany, Ashe, Buncombe, Burke, Caldwell, Cherokee, Clay, Cleveland, Haywood, Henderson, Jackson, McDowell, Macon, Madison, Mitchell, Polk, Rutherford, Swain,<sup>48</sup> Transylvania, Watauga, and Yancey.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT IN 1872<sup>49</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Bertie, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Dare, Gates, Hertford, Hyde, Martin, Pamlico, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Pitt, Tyrrell, and Washington.

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Craven, Edgecombe, Greene, Halifax, Jones, Lenoir, Northampton, Vance,<sup>50</sup> Warren, Wayne, and Wilson.

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Bladen, Brunswick, Carteret, Columbus, Cumberland, Duplin, Harnett, Moore, New Hanover, Onslow, Pender,<sup>51</sup> and Sampson.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Chatham, Durham,<sup>52</sup> Franklin, Granville, Johnston, Nash, Orange, and Wake.

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Alamance, Caswell, Davidson, Guilford, Person, Randolph, Rockingham, and Stokes.

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Anson, Cabarrus, Catawba, Gaston, Lincoln, Mecklenburg, Montgomery, Richmond, Robeson, Stanly, and Union.

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Alexander, Alleghany, Ashe, Davie, Forsyth, Iredell, Surry, Watauga, Wilkes, Rowan, and Yadkin.

## EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Buncombe, Burke, Caldwell, Cherokee, Clay, Cleveland, Graham, Haywood, Henderson, Jackson, McDowell, Macon, Madison, Mitchell, Polk, Rutherford, Swain, Transylvania, and Yancey.

<sup>48</sup> Swain County was formed from Jackson and Macon in 1871. *Laws of North Carolina, 1870-71*, Chs. 94, 181.

<sup>49</sup> *Laws of North Carolina, 1871-72*, Ch. 171. This law was reenacted in an act to regulate elections in 1876. *Laws of North Carolina, 1876-77*, Ch. 275.

<sup>50</sup> Vance County was formed from Granville, Warren, and Franklin in 1881. The law provided for the same congressional representation until new districts were established. *Laws of North Carolina, 1881*, Ch. 113.

<sup>51</sup> Pender County was formed from New Hanover in 1875. *Laws of North Carolina, 1874-75*, Chs. 91, 136.

<sup>52</sup> Durham County was formed from Wake and Orange in 1881. *Laws of North Carolina, 1881*, Ch. 138.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1883<sup>53</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Camden, Carteret, Chowan, Currituck, Dare, Gates, Hertford, Hyde, Martin, Pamlico, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Pitt, Tyrrell, and Washington.

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Bertie, Craven, Edgecombe, Greene, Halifax, Jones, Lenoir, Northampton, Vance, Warren, and Wilson.

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Bladen, Cumberland, Duplin, Harnett, Moore, Onslow, Pender, Sampson, and Wayne.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Alamance, Chatham, Durham, Franklin, Johnston, Nash, Orange, and Wake.

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Caswell, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Person, Rockingham, Stokes, and Surry.

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Anson, Brunswick, Cabarrus, Columbus, Mecklenburg, New Hanover, Richmond, Robeson, Stanly, and Union.

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Catawba, Davidson, Davie, Iredell, Montgomery, Randolph, Rowan, and Yadkin.

## EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Alexander, Alleghany, Ashe, Burke, Caldwell, Cleveland, Gaston, Lincoln, Watauga, and Wilkes.

## NINTH DISTRICT.

Buncombe, Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Henderson, Jackson, McDowell, Macon, Madison, Mitchell, Polk, Rutherford, Swain, Transylvania, and Yancey.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1891<sup>54</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Camden, Carteret, Chowan, Currituck, Dare, Gates, Hertford, Hyde, Martin, Pamlico, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Pitt, Tyrrell, and Washington.

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Bertie, Edgecombe, Greene, Halifax, Lenoir, Northampton, Warren, Wayne, and Wilson.

<sup>53</sup> *Laws of North Carolina, 1883*, Ch. 226.

<sup>54</sup> *Laws of North Carolina, 1891*, Chs. 398, 573.

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Bladen, Craven, Cumberland, Duplin, Harnett, Jones, Moore, Onslow, and Sampson.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Chatham, Franklin, Johnston, Nash, Randolph,<sup>55</sup> Vance,<sup>56</sup> and Wake.

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Alamance, Caswell, Durham,<sup>57</sup> Granville, Guilford, Orange,<sup>57</sup> Person, Rockingham, and Stokes.

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Anson, Brunswick, Columbus, Mecklenburg, New Hanover, Pender, Richmond, Robeson, Scotland,<sup>58</sup> and Union.

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Cabarrus, Catawba, Davidson, Davie, Iredell, Lincoln, Montgomery, Rowan, Stanly, and Yadkin.

## EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Alexander, Alleghany, Ashe, Burke, Caldwell, Cleveland, Forsyth, Gaston, Mitchell,<sup>59</sup> Surry, Watauga, and Wilkes.

## NINTH DISTRICT.

Buncombe, Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Henderson, Jackson, McDowell, Macon, Madison, Mitchell,<sup>59</sup> Polk, Rutherford, Swain, Transylvania, and Yancey.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1901<sup>60</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Dare, Gates, Hertford, Hyde, Martin, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Pitt, Tyrrell, and Washington.

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Bertie, Edgecombe, Greene, Halifax, Lenoir, Northampton, Warren, and Wilson.

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Carteret, Craven, Duplin, Jones, Onslow, Pamlico, Pender, Sampson, and Wayne.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Chatham, Franklin, Johnston, Lee,<sup>61</sup> Nash, Vance, and Wake.

<sup>55</sup> Randolph was listed in the Fifth District in Ch. 398, and in the Fourth in Ch. 573. *Laws of North Carolina, 1891.*

<sup>56</sup> Vance was listed in the Second District in Ch. 398, and in the Fourth District in Ch. 573. *Laws of North Carolina, 1891.*

<sup>57</sup> Durham and Orange were listed in the Fourth District in Ch. 398, and in the Fifth in Ch. 573. *Laws of North Carolina, 1891.*

<sup>58</sup> Scotland County was formed from Richmond in 1899, and remained in the same congressional district. *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1899, Ch. 127.*

<sup>59</sup> In 1895 Mitchell County was transferred from the Eighth to the Ninth Congressional District. *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1895, Ch. 99.*

<sup>60</sup> *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1901, Chs. 89, 441.*

<sup>61</sup> Lee County was formed from Chatham and Moore in 1907, and remained in the same congressional districts. *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1907, Ch. 624.*

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Alamance, Caswell, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Person, Rockingham, Stokes, and Surry.<sup>62</sup>

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Cumberland, Harnett, New Hanover, and Robeson.

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Anson, Davidson, Davie, Lee,<sup>63</sup> Montgomery, Moore, Randolph, Richmond, Scotland, Union, and Yadkin.

## EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Alexander, Alleghany, Ashe, Cabarrus, Caldwell, Iredell, Rowan, Stanly, Surry,<sup>62</sup> Watauga, and Wilkes.

## NINTH DISTRICT.

Burke, Catawba, Cleveland, Gaston, Lincoln, Madison, Mecklenburg, Mitchell, and Yancey.

## TENTH DISTRICT.

Buncombe, Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Henderson, Jackson, McDowell, Macon, Polk, Rutherford, Swain, and Transylvania.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1911<sup>64</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Dare, Gates, Hertford, Hyde, Martin, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Pitt, Tyrrell, and Washington.

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Bertie, Edgecombe, Greene, Halifax, Lenoir, Northampton, Warren, and Wilson.

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Carteret, Craven, Duplin, Jones, Onslow, Pamlico, Pender, Sampson, and Wayne.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Chatham, Franklin, Johnston, Nash, Vance, and Wake.

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Alamance, Caswell, Durham, Forsyth, Granville, Guilford, Orange, Person, Rockingham, Stokes, and Surry.

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Cumberland, Harnett, New Hanover, and Robeson.

<sup>62</sup> In 1907 Surry was taken from the Eighth Congressional District and placed in the Fifth District. *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1907*, Ch. 834.

<sup>63</sup> Lee County was formed from Chatham and Moore in 1907, and the territory remained in the same congressional districts. *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1907*, Ch. 834.

<sup>64</sup> *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1911*, Ch. 97.

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Anson, Davidson, Davie, Hoke, Lee, Montgomery, Moore, Randolph, Richmond, Scotland, Union, Wilkes, and Yadkin.

## EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Alexander, Alleghany, Ashe, Cabarrus, Caldwell, Iredell, Rowan, and Watauga.

## NINTH DISTRICT.

Avery, Burke, Catawba, Cleveland, Gaston, Lincoln, Madison, Mecklenburg, Mitchell, and Yancey.

## TENTH DISTRICT.

Buncombe, Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Henderson, Jackson, McDowell, Macon, Polk, Rutherford, Swain, and Transylvania.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1931<sup>65</sup>

## FIRST DISTRICT.

Beaufort, Camden, Chowan, Currituck, Dare, Gates, Hertford, Hyde, Martin, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Pitt, Tyrrell, and Washington.

## SECOND DISTRICT.

Bertie, Edgecombe, Greene, Halifax, Lenoir, Northampton, Warren, and Wilson.

## THIRD DISTRICT.

Carteret, Craven, Duplin, Jones, Onslow, Pamlico, Pender, Sampson, and Wayne.

## FOURTH DISTRICT.

Chatham, Franklin, Johnston, Nash, Randolph, Wake, and Vance.

## FIFTH DISTRICT.

Caswell, Forsyth, Granville, Person, Rockingham, Stokes, and Surry.

## SIXTH DISTRICT.

Alamance, Durham, Guilford, and Orange.

## SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Bladen, Brunswick, Columbus, Cumberland, Harnett, New Hanover, and Robeson.

## EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Anson, Davidson, Davie, Hoke, Lee, Montgomery, Moore, Richmond, Scotland, Union, Wilkes, and Yadkin.

## NINTH DISTRICT.

Alexander, Alleghany, Ashe, Cabarrus, Caldwell, Iredell, Rowan, Stanly, and Watauga.

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<sup>65</sup> *Laws of North Carolina, 1931*, Ch. 216.

## TENTH DISTRICT.

Avery, Burke, Catawba, Cleveland, Gaston, Lincoln, Madison, Mecklenburg, Mitchell, and Yancey.

## ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

Buncombe, Clay, Cherokee, Graham, Henderson, Haywood, Jackson, McDowell, Macon, Polk, Rutherford, Swain, and Transylvania.

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By MARY LINDSAY THORNTON

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- GOHDES, CLARENCE LOUIS FRANK and BAUM, PAUL FRANKLIN, ed. Letters of William Michael Rossetti; concerning Whitman, Blake, and Shelley, to Anne Gilchrist and her son Herbert Gilchrist . . . Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1934. 201 p. \$2.50.
- [HYMAN, MARY WATSON, ed.] The find out book. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [1934]. 2v. \$1.00 a volume. Juvenile.
- KEISER, ALBERT. The Indian in American literature. New York, Oxford University Press, 1934. 312 p. \$3.00.
- SELLEN, SAMUEL. A player's handbook; the theory and practice of acting. New York, F. S. Crofts & Co., 1934. 263 p. il. \$2.75.
- SMITH, ADDISON GEERY. Ten plays from O. Henry. New York, Samuel French, 1934. 170 p. \$1.50.
- TAYLOR, GEORGE COFFIN. Milton's use of Du Bartas. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1934. 129 p. \$2.00.
- VOLLMER, LULA. Moonshine and honeysuckle; a play in three acts. New York, Samuel French, c. 1934. 99 p. \$.50. Paper.

*Genealogy*

- ACKLEN, MRS. JEANNETTE (TILLOTSON), comp. Tennessee records . . . Nashville, Tenn., Cullom & Gertner Co., 1933. 2 v. il. \$15.00. Included on account of its usefulness as a genealogical source book for North Carolina as well as Tennessee.

- HARLLEE, WILLIAM CURRY. Kinfolks. New Orleans, Searcy & Pfaff, ltd., 1934. v. 1-3, il. \$10.00 for the complete work. v. 1 only has been published.
- MOON, ANNA MARY. Sketches of the Shelby, McDowell, Deaderick, Anderson families. [Chattanooga, Tenn., c. 1933.] 150 p. il. \$5.00.

*History and Travel*

- LEFLER, HUGH TALMAGE, ed. North Carolina history, told by contemporaries. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [c. 1934]. 454 p. \$3.50.
- MARKS, SALLIE B. and HYMAN, MARY H. The geography of North Carolina. (In Barrows, Harlan H. Geography. v. 4. New York, Newark, Silver, Burdett & Co. [c. 1933]. \$1.44.
- MOONEY, JAMES and OLBRECHTS, FRANS M. The Swimmer manuscript, Cherokee sacred formulas and medicinal prescriptions. Washington, D. C., U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1932. (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 99.) 319 p. il. \$.50. Paper.
- PICKENS, ROBERT S. Storm clouds over Asia. New York, Funk & Wagnalls, 1934. 251 p. \$1.50.
- SHANKLE, GEORGE EARLIE. State names, flags, seals, songs, birds, flowers, and other symbols. New York, The H. W. Wilson Co., 1934. 512 p. il. \$2.80.
- SHANKS, HENRY THOMAS. The secession movement in Virginia, 1847-1861. Richmond, Va., Garrett & Massie [c. 1934]. 307 p. maps. \$3.00.

*Biography*

- DIXON, THOMAS. A dreamer in Portugal; the story of Bernarr Macfadden's mission to continental Europe. New York, Covici, Friede, 1934. 259 p. il. \$2.50.
- GRAVES, RALPH HENRY. The triumph of an idea; the story of Henry Ford. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday-Page, 1934. 184 p. il. \$1.00.
- HARRINGTON, MILDRED (MRS. MILDRED HARRINGTON LYNCH). My own story; as told to Mildred Harrington by Marie Dressler. Boston, Mass., Little, Brown, 1934. 298 p. il. \$2.50.
- HURLEY, JAMES F. and EGAN, JULIA GOODE. The prophet of Zion-Parnassus: Samuel Eusebius McCorkle. Richmond, Va., Presbyterian Committee of Publication [c. 1934]. 121 p. \$1.00.

- JAMES, MRS. BESSIE ROWLAND and JAMES, MARQUIS. The courageous heart; a life of Andrew Jackson for young readers. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1934. 273 p. il. map. \$2.00. Juvenile.
- KIRKLAND, WINIFRED MARGARETTA and KIRKLAND, FRANCES. Girls who became artists. New York, Harper, 1934. 115 p. \$1.00.
- O'GRADY, JOHN. Levi Silliman Ives, pioneer leader in Catholic charities. New York, P. J. Kennedy & Sons, 1933. 98 p. \$1.25.
- RUSSELL, PHILLIPS. William the Conqueror. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933. 334 p. il. \$3.00.
- WHARTON, DON, ed. The Roosevelt omnibus. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1934. 174 p. \$3.50.
- WINSTON, ROBERT WATSON. Robert E. Lee; a biography. New York, W. Morrow & Co., 1934. 428 p. il. \$4.00.

*New Editions*

- AKERS, SUSAN GREY. Simple library cataloguing. Second edition, revised. Chicago, Ill., American Library Association, 1933. 173 p. il. \$1.50.
- BURT, MRS. KATHARINE NEWLIN. The tall ladder. New York, Burt, 1934. 257 p. \$.75.
- DUGGER, SHEPHERD MONROE. The balsam groves of the Grandfather Mountain. Banner Elk, N. C., Author, 1934. 310 p. il. \$2.00.
- GREEN, ERMA and GREEN, PAUL. Fixin's; the tragedy of a tenant farm woman. New York, Samuel French, c. 1934. 40 p. \$.35. Paper.
- GREEN, PAUL. The Lord's will; a tragedy of a country preacher. New York, Samuel French [1934]. 45 p. \$.35. Paper.
- HUME, MARTIN ANDREW SHARP. Sir Walter Raleigh. New York, Knopf, 1933. (Blue jade library.) 292 p. \$1.00.
- KNIGHT, EDGAR WALLACE. Education in the United States. New York, Ginn, 1934. 636 p. il. \$2.60.
- RUSSELL, PHILLIPS. Emerson. New York, Harper, 1934. (Blue ribbon books.) \$1.00.
- RUSSELL, PHILLIPS. John Paul Jones, man of action. New York, Harper, 1934. (Blue ribbon books.) 322 p. \$1.00.
- RUSSELL, PHILLIPS. Red tiger; adventures in Yucatan and Mexico. New York, McBride, 1934. (McBride travel books.) 336 p. il. \$1.00.
- [SCHAW, JANET] Journal of a lady of quality . . . edited by Mrs. Evangeline Walker Andrews. Second edition. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1934. 349 p. \$4.00.

WHITE, STEWART EDWARD. Daniel Boone: wilderness scout. Garden City, N. Y., Garden City Publishing Co. (1933). 274 p. il. \$1.00. Juvenile.

WOLFE, THOMAS. Look homeward, angel; a story of the buried life. New York, Bennett A. Cerf, Donald S. Klopfer [c. 1934]. (The modern library.) 626 p. \$1.00.

## BOOK REVIEWS

UNIONISM AND RECONSTRUCTION IN TENNESSEE, 1860-1869. By James Welch Patton. (The University of North Carolina Press. 1934. Pp. 267.)

The history of Tennessee during the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction differed in a number of significant respects from that of other Southern states, yet this history has not been the subject of careful and detailed monographic treatment. Mr. Patton's volume does much to remedy this situation. Its first three chapters, dealing largely with "Secession," Andrew Johnson's military governorship, and Unionism in East Tennessee during wartime, sketch briefly the background necessary for an understanding of the so-called Reconstruction period. This period, which began with the reestablishment of civil government in 1865 and ended with the return of the ex-Confederates to power in 1869, is the subject of the major part of the book. It was a period during which the State was controlled, not by carpetbaggers and Negroes, but by a minority of its own white citizenry, the Radical faction of the Unionists. The dominant figure in this group was the notorious Parson William G. Brownlow, who served as governor of the State during most of this period. It is largely in Brownlow's administrations, and almost wholly as regards their political aspects, that Mr. Patton is interested, and it is here that he has made his most worthwhile contributions. On the basis of an examination of an imposing list of sources, and with the use of many quotations from newspapers, he has presented a detailed narrative of the events of these tumultuous years. He has not concerned himself greatly with an attempt to explain the fundamental forces which dictated those events. As for Brownlow, the author's opinion is that he "was guided throughout his gubernatorial career by a determined and unremitting desire to restore the State as speedily as possible to its former position in the Union." It is difficult to discover the motives which determine the actions of men, but it is the reviewer's opinion that Brownlow's policy was the result of his desire to keep control of the State for the selfish purposes of the Radical minority of which he was the leader. Brownlow's advocacy of Negro suffrage, for example, seems not to have been an attempt

to "reconcile the State with the Federal government," but, as the governor himself explained, to secure "sixty or seventy thousand votes to kick the beam to weigh down the balance against rebellion." Votes were needed to insure victory for the Radicals in the election of 1867. The Negro was enfranchised, but the sixteenth section of the enfranchisement act specifically denied to him the right to hold office. This Mr. Patton neglected to mention. The reviewer agrees with the conclusion that Brownlow's policy "still saved the State from the disasters of congressional military reconstruction that other Southern states experienced." It is to be regretted that the author has underestimated the influence of the firing upon Fort Sumter in weakening Union sentiment in Tennessee; that he did not present a clearer analysis of the division of the Unionists into Radical and Conservative factions; that he postponed discussion of Tennessee's ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment and the readmission of her Senators and Representatives to Congress until after he had described such later developments as the enfranchisement of the Negro and the activities of the Ku Klux Klan; that he gave so little attention to Radical policies as they affected the State debt; that he devoted only one brief paragraph to the election of 1869 by which Radical control of the State was ended; and that he so limited his field of study as to exclude adequate discussion of social and economic developments. Mr. Patton has made a valuable contribution to the history of Tennessee; but much still remains to be done before a definitive and well-rounded account of the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction can be written.

PHILIP M. HAMER.

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE.

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R. E. LEE: A BIOGRAPHY. By Douglas Southall Freeman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1934. Two volumes. Pp. xviii, 647, 621. \$7.50.)

This biography of Robert E. Lee, at once charming and definitive, introduces the reader to this simple, yet complex character, through a door at which few have come to the study of the man and his work. We have here a full, well-balanced, and accurate account of the great Southern leader from the time "A Carriage Goes to Alexandria" until "The Pattern of a Life" had been in-

delibily graven upon the pages of American history. There have been many "lives" of Lee, but this is the first "Life" of Lee. It is both final and conclusive. The first two volumes, now published, carry the story to that afternoon in the forest, in May of 1863, when fate intervened and Lee lost his right arm—Stonewall Jackson. Two additional volumes will complete the narrative.

The account of Lee's career from birth until his resignation in April, 1861, is almost entirely new and requires as much space as is taken by most previous complete biographies. It is based, largely, on hitherto unknown or unused Lee letters of the period. By skillful quotation a background is etched, a code formulated, and a character formed that make possible a clear understanding of why, at the crisis of his life, Lee decided as he did. Against the background of his inheritance and way of thought and living, he could not have done otherwise.

The Lee ancestry and traditions, life at West Point, marriage, early service as an engineer officer, and Lee's participation in the Mexican War are all told in detail and with a wealth of anecdote and personal characterization. Then follow the period as superintendent at West Point, the years in Texas as a cavalry officer, and Lee's part in the capture of John Brown. It was all a mixture both of swords and roses and of mud and rain and disappointment.

The account of the advances made to Lee by Scott and Blair and of his resignation are narrated in a temperate and factual manner. There are no imagined sentimental passages, no histrionic speculations. Lee emerges from the ordeal not a sainted hero, but as a man who had made a difficult decision, who had done his duty as he saw it. His position in the spring of 1861 was one of peculiar prominence. He was of distinguished lineage and connections; he had displayed an unusual ability in Mexico and afterwards; he was certain to be chosen for further distinction in the impending conflict. He put all this back of him when he resigned his commission in the United States Army. Whatever the consequences, he was going to stick by his people, even if he thought them in the wrong. He was not influenced by political dogmas. He felt his first duty to be to his family as epitomized in Virginia; the nation was second. The one was an

ever-present reality; the other an impersonal political abstraction. Lee deliberately sacrificed certain and assured material reward for spiritual satisfaction. The sorry story of politics, rain and failure in the mountains of western Virginia completes the first volume.

The second volume is devoted, almost entirely, to Lee, the Confederate general. The coming of Jefferson Davis to Richmond, the attitude of Joseph E. Johnston in matters of rank and command, the conflict of authority in the Richmond government, and the taking over of the Virginia forces by the Confederacy all created difficulties. Lee's lack of success in the mountains of western Virginia had seemed to stamp him as a failure. His commands were more or less nominal; he was tolerated at headquarters because Davis did not know what to do with him.

Then, like a flash, came the accidental wounding of Johnston and Lee's appointment to the command. From this point the story falls into the historical grooves worn deep by countless writers who have studied Lee's career and attempted to appraise his leadership. The account of the campaigns and battles are told in careful detail. Disputed or controversial points are judicially considered in the light of all the available evidence. Jackson's delay in coming to Lee's aid in the last days of June, 1862, is carefully considered, with the conclusion that no "positive, incontrovertible" reasons can be given (II, 582). We have always believed that Jackson's delay was due, primarily, to a temporary failure of Jackson as a human machine. After over three months of active and intensive campaigning under great stress and responsibility, he had hurried to Lee's aid and was without sleep and without rest. Only his indomitable spirit kept him on his feet. As his troops approached the battlefield, Jackson's mental machine temporarily stopped; he had run down; the twenty-four hours required to restart the human mechanism represent the measure of Jackson's delay.

The subsequent failure of Lee to convert his victory into greater success, and perhaps to crush McClellan's army, was due to the lack of adequate maps, to "amateurish and incompetent staff work," to "the faulty employment of the cavalry," to "the poor use made of the Confederate artillery," and, finally, to Lee's too

great reliance on subordinates, "some of whom failed to measure up either to their responsibilities or to their opportunities" (II, 232-39). Finally, during the Seven Days, Lee "showed no genius" for those superior tactical dispositions that were such a conspicuous element in some of his later successes. "The already terrible footmen of the Army of Northern Virginia showed their superiority," but it was not so much so with their chief. McClellan, on his part, handled his troops in an admirable manner, after he had overcome the panic into which he had been thrown by the suddenness and the fierceness of Lee's attacks. Lee broke McClellan's grip primarily because of the fundamental soundness of his strategy, because of the valor of his troops, and because of the "singular temperament" of his opponent (II, 242-43).

The campaign brought home to Lee the shortcomings of his organization and the limitations on any "grand strategy," imposed by his resources. "Flank attacks, quick marches to the rear, and better tactics [were, in future, to take] the place of great designs of destruction." Lapses from this decision, as in the Pennsylvania campaign, were accompanied by failure and defeat. Lee realized "that Confederate success depended on utilizing the means at hand, without waiting to perfect them in competition with an enemy whose resources were so much greater than those of the Confederacy . . ." (II, 249).

By the end of the Maryland campaign "the development of the army and the training of its commanders" had reached an advanced stage. The army acquired defensive as well as offensive ability. The staff and the division commanders had learned lessons in coöperation and the artillery had improved greatly. "Perhaps the greatest development . . . was in Lee himself." Through all this activity "The never-ending tasks of reorganization consumed much time" (II, 413-14, 489).

In this admirable biography we find two important omissions: one, the lack of any discussion of the advantages of interior lines enjoyed by the Confederacy and their effect on Lee's strategy and tactics, and, second, the failure to consider the part played by the lower South in furnishing Lee with men and materials. Both of these omissions, which are common, appear to be the result

of Dr. Freeman's preoccupation with Lee in Virginia rather than with Lee and the Confederacy.

As Lee drove the enemy back from Richmond and himself took the offensive he did not formulate any extended strategical plan that would relieve Virginia permanently by carrying the war into enemy territory. This could have been attempted by means of a coördinated movement with the Confederate troops in Kentucky and Tennessee. Aside from limited resources, the failure was perhaps due to the fact that Lee saw the war only as the commander of an army in the field and as a Virginian. Until McClellan had been driven from Richmond, this attitude was the result of desperate necessity. After the Second Bull Run, the conception became a matter of policy, so far as Lee was concerned. Lee did not consider it as his business to formulate a plan of grand strategy. This was Davis's function as Commander in Chief. Viewed simply from the larger strategical angle, it would have seemed worth while for Lee and Davis to have made use of the advantage of interior lines by detaching Jackson or Longstreet to Kentucky to assist Bragg, rather than to have attempted the invasion of Maryland. In any case, no attempt was made to coördinate Lee's advance with Bragg's movement against Louisville, Kentucky.

The lower South fulfilled a part in the defense of Virginia that is seldom given proper consideration. As proved by the sequel, the men and supplies and munitions furnished from this section were indispensable. When they were cut off by Sherman's operations in Georgia, the fate of Lee and Virginia was sealed. As a partial measure of the value and extent of the support in manpower it is interesting to note that over 60 per cent of the organizations and 80 per cent of the division commanders in Lee's army in the Maryland campaign were from the lower South. Because, to many, Robert E. Lee and the Southern Confederacy are synonymous, these omissions are unfortunate. Their inclusion would have aided both in illustrating the magnitude of Lee's task and would have given recognition to those elements in the Confederacy from which Lee derived a large measure of his support. Likewise, there is practically no discussion of the problems of supply of food, men, and munitions.

There is a good index and there are many illustrations, some of them published for the first time. The maps, large and small, scattered through the book are a great help to the reader in following the narrative. The "Short-Title Index" should not be used as a selected bibliography, as there are a number of important omissions, notably William Allan, *The Army of Northern Virginia in 1862*, General Maurice's *Robert E. Lee*, and Pollard's *History*.

This work on Lee and Virginia is the result of painstaking research and careful arrangement and composition carried on over a period of twenty years. It is a real contribution to American historical scholarship; a lasting and definitive account of the life of one of the greatest soldiers of history. When on that April day of 1861, Lee took the train for Richmond, he put behind him all the material things of life. What the future held for him and his loved ones no mortal knew or could guess. "There was no questioning, no holding back, no delay. The road from Arlington, though lit with glory, led straight to Appomattox. But Lee never regretted his action, never even admitted that he had made a choice. With the war behind him, with the South desolate and disfranchised, and with her sons dead on a hundred battlefields, he was to look back with soul unshaken and was to say: 'I did only what my duty demanded. I could have taken no other course without dishonor. And if it were to be done over again, I should act in precisely the same manner' " (I, 447).

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

GREAT NECK, N. Y.

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DISLOYALTY IN THE CONFEDERACY. By Georgia Lee Tatum. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1934. Pp. 176. \$2.50.)

The popular belief that the people of the Southern states were united behind the civil and military leaders of the Confederacy in the struggle to make the South into an independent republic has received another blow at the hands of an industrious student of *The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Already such delvers in the behind-the-lines activities of Southerners as Professors A. B. Moore, J. G. deR. Hamilton,

F. L. Owsley, J. W. Patton, and Ella Lonn have been unkind enough to the patriotic faith of Southerners to demonstrate that important elements of the Southern white population manifested their opposition to the Confederate adventure by organizing unpatriotic societies, by refusing to serve in the Confederate army, by being overcritical of the Davis government, and by resorting to a shrewd sort of pedantry which made States' Rights and the Bill of Rights cloaks for activities which made easier the successes of Grant and Sherman. Miss Tatum's book supplements the work of these scholars. By ample quotations from the writings of Confederate leaders and investigators, she proves that thousands of Southerners were never in sympathy with the Confederacy, and that the number of such persons was augmented as the trials and hardships of the war increased; every Southern state was confronted with the problem of large masses of deserters, who were often organized in formidable bands and societies designed to promote the cause of the enemy.

The execution of Miss Tatum's book, according to the simple pattern she has constructed for her use, is done in a clear and logical manner. From the disjointed mass of the *Official Records* and from a few other minor sources she has gleaned all the materials which fit into her very intelligent definition of disloyalty to the Confederacy, has rigidly classified these materials both chronologically and according to states, has summarized each item clearly and accurately, and then, with full footnotes and index, presented her data to the public in a convenient and well-printed little book. All the information concerning an unseemly phase of life in the Confederacy contained in the most extensive and most authentic source are set down without apology. Scholars looking for facts for realistic appraisals of the Confederacy will be thankful to Miss Tatum.

But this book, like most books, has its shortcomings. The main emphasis in the classification of the excellent data collected should have been the significant phases of the disloyalty movement, with only minor emphasis on the variations in disloyalty existing in the states or in other sectional divisions. The first chapter synthesizing the opposition to secession should have been followed by chapters on such subjects as the causes of dis-

loyalty, the economic and social status of the disloyal, the activities of the disloyal groups, and the effects of these activities on the Confederate cause as a whole. States in America, even in the South during the War for Southern Independence, are scarcely more than official entities, certainly not social or national entities. Miss Tatum conveys the wrong impression by attempting to bound the various phases of disloyalty and patriotism in the Confederacy by state lines. Had she classified her materials according to a more significant pattern, she would not have found it convenient to have neglected the task of interpreting what she has collected, a duty which she modestly eschews in her preface. The results of diligent and enthusiastic research when catalogued and narrated according to a significant plan, almost compel the investigator to resort to the perilous but necessary task of making interpretations and drawing conclusions. Miss Tatum should not have deprived her readers of these fruits of her industry. Without them the reader finds it necessary to go to the trouble of making his own classification and conclusions if a clear picture of disloyalty in the Confederacy is to be gotten from the author's mass of facts.

Nevertheless, this work adds to our knowledge of little emphasized phases of the internal history of the Confederacy. Only once, in the case of the convention held in the region near Beaufort, South Carolina, on April 17, 1864 (p. 142), does the present reader catch Miss Tatum in an improper application of her definition of disloyalty to the Confederacy. Some of her many examples of types of behavior of this character seem nebulous, but they are nebulous in the records on which she has relied. She could have made more extensive forays outside the *Official Records*, but doubtless that would have frequently landed her in the realm of the apocryphal.

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS.

STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE,  
FARMVILLE, VIRGINIA.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

The North Carolina Historical Commission receives requests for early numbers of the *North Carolina Manual*, *Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association*, the *North Carolina Booklet*, and the *North Carolina Day Program*. These publications are out of print. Anyone possessing duplicates is requested to send them to A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C. The supply thus accumulated will be used to serve the cause of North Carolina history by filling gaps in the collections of libraries and students.

Back numbers of the *North Carolina Historical Review* may be secured from the secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission at the regular price of \$2 per volume, or 50 cents per number.

The thirty-fourth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held at the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh, Tuesday and Wednesday, December 4-5, 1934. On Tuesday evening, after the invocation by Rev. Theodore Partrick, Jr., of Raleigh, President Frank P. Graham of the University of North Carolina, president of the Association, delivered the presidential address, "Benjamin Franklin and the South," and James Larkin Pearson of Boomer spoke on "The Soul of Poetry" and read some of his own poems. President Graham appointed J. Fred Rippey, W. T. Polk, and Douglas L. Rights as the committee on nominations, and Miss Adelaide L. Fries, John Livingstone, and Dr. D. T. Smithwick as the committee on resolutions, to report at the Wednesday morning business meeting. A reception to members and guests of the Association and the North Carolina State Art and North Carolina Folk-Lore societies was then held. At the Wednesday morning session, papers were presented on "North Carolina Bibliography, 1933-34," by Mary L. Thornton, Chapel Hill (read by Mrs. M. L. Skaggs of Chapel Hill); "Ethnological Arguments in Defense of Slavery," by W. S. Jenkins, Chapel Hill; "North Carolina's Claim to Whistler's Mother," by Mrs. Kate R. McDiarmid, North Wilkesboro; and

"Some Phases of Loyalism in North Carolina during the American Revolution," by R. O. DeMond, Durham. Upon recommendation of the committee on nominations, whose report was made by Douglas L. Rights, the following officers of the Association were chosen for the ensuing year: president, J. M. McConnell, Davidson; first vice president, Phillips Russell, Chapel Hill; second vice president, Mrs. J. H. Anderson, Raleigh; third vice president, Mrs. Kate R. McDiarmid, North Wilkesboro; secretary, A. R. Newsome, Raleigh. The closing session of the Association was held in the Hugh Morson auditorium, Wednesday evening. Dr. Thomas W. Lingle of Davidson College introduced Dr. Douglas S. Freeman of Richmond, who delivered the historical address, "General Lee's Associations with North Carolina." Governor J. C. B. Ehringhaus then announced the Mayflower Cup award for 1934 and presented a replica to the winner, Prof. Erich W. Zimmermann of Chapel Hill, whose book, *World Resources and Industries*, was adjudged the best original work by a resident North Carolinian during the year ending September 1. The board of award consisted of the president of the Association and the heads of the departments of history and English at State College and Davidson College.

The twenty-third annual session of the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society was held at the Sir Walter Hotel, Raleigh, Wednesday afternoon, December 5. Mrs. D. H. Sutton, Lenoir, delivered the presidential address and papers were presented on "Folk-Lore of the Teeth," by D. T. Smithwick, Louisburg; "Some Rare Dialect Words from Western North Carolina," by George P. Wilson, Greensboro; "The Spell of the Moon: Moon Lore in Legend and in Literature," by Robert B. Wynne, Durham; "Some Ghost and Mystery Stories," by Adelaide L. Fries, Winston-Salem. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: president, D. T. Smithwick, Louisburg; first vice president, Adelaide L. Fries, Winston-Salem; second vice president, Thomas P. Harrison, Raleigh; third vice president, I. G. Greer, Thomasville; and secretary-treasurer, Frank C. Brown, Durham.

The North Carolina State Art Society held its annual meeting at the Sir Walter Hotel, Raleigh, December 3-4. On the evening

of December 3, Mrs. Katherine P. Arrington, Warrenton, delivered the presidential address; Governor J. C. B. Ehringhaus spoke briefly; President Frank P. Graham talked on "Art and the University"; Miss Juanita McDougald of Raleigh reported on "Art in the Schools and Summer Teachers' Colleges in North Carolina"; Miss Leila Mechlin of Washington spoke on "Progress of Art in North Carolina"; and Fred Payne Platworthy, special color illustrator of the *National Geographic Magazine*, presented an illustrated address, "Mexican Pictures." The society opened its public exhibition of paintings by the Grand Central Art Galleries and North Carolina Professional Artists. At the business meeting on December 4, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: honorary president, Governor J. C. B. Ehringhaus; president, Mrs. Katherine P. Arrington, Warrenton; vice presidents, Mrs. H. M. London of Raleigh, Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, and M. C. S. Noble, Jr., of Raleigh; treasurer, Juanita McDougald, Raleigh; secretary, Charles E. Johnson, Raleigh; and chairman of the executive committee, Clarence Poe, Raleigh.

An unusually large representation of historians from North Carolina attended the fiftieth anniversary meeting of the American Historical Association, held on December 27-29 at the Hotel Mayflower in Washington, D. C. The president of the Association in 1934 was Prof. W. E. Dodd, a native of North Carolina and now United States Ambassador to Germany. At one of the sessions on December 28, papers were presented by Mr. R. D. W. Connor, formerly head of the history department at the University of North Carolina and now the first Archivist of the United States, on "The New National Archives," and by Dr. A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission and chairman of the Public Archives Commission of the Association, on "Recent Surveys of State and Local Archives in the United States."

Miss Mary J. Heitman, Davie County historian, conducts an historical column, "The Corner Cupboard Column," in the *Mocksville Enterprise*.

Mr. Henry A. Page, III, of Aberdeen, a senior at Princeton University, was recently appointed one of the four Rhodes Scholars from the South Atlantic District and also awarded the M. Taylor Pyne Honor Prize, the highest general distinction conferred upon a Princeton undergraduate.

Louis R. Wilson and R. B. Downs are the authors of "Special Collections for the Study of History and Literature in the Southeast," published in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXVIII, part 2, 1934.

The Southern Historical Association was organized at Atlanta, November 2, 1934, for the promotion of interest and research in the history of the South. Membership in the Association, whose annual dues are \$3, carries with it a subscription to *The Journal of Southern History*, a review scheduled to appear in February, May, August, and November. Officers of the Association for 1935 are: president, E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia; vice president, Thomas P. Abernethy, University of Virginia; and secretary-treasurer, Charles M. Knapp, University of Kentucky. The Council consists of the officers of the Association and the following elected members: Charles W. Ramsdell, University of Texas; Benjamin B. Kendrick, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; Kathleen Bruce, Hollins College; Thomas B. Posey, Birmingham-Southern College; Kathryn Abbey, Florida State College for Women; and Philip Davidson, Agnes Scott College. The *Journal* will be edited by Wendell H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University, as Managing Editor; Edwin A. Davis, Louisiana State University, as Editorial Associate; and an editorial board whose members are Philip Hamer, University of Tennessee; E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia; Charles M. Sydnor, University of Mississippi; Dwight Dumond, University of Michigan; Thomas P. Abernethy, University of Virginia; Fletcher M. Green, Emory University; Richard H. Shryock, Duke University; and William C. Binkley, Vanderbilt University.

Dr. Archibald Henderson of Chapel Hill delivered the historical address at the presentation of a portrait of John Steele

to the Durham Public Library on January 16, and an address on George Washington before the Raleigh Kiwanis Club on February 22.

In the January-February issue of *The North Carolina Poetry Review* are several poems by North Carolinians and an historical sketch by Edward A. Oldham of George Moses Horton, North Carolina's slave poet.

Dr. Thomas W. Lingle of Davidson College is the author of a review essay on Freeman's biography of Lee, published in *The Phi Gamma Delta*, December, 1934.

Mrs. John H. Anderson of Raleigh, who recently completed her term as Historian-General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, was awarded a parchment of distinction for unusual achievement in the perpetuation of the history and traditions of the South at the annual Dixie Dinner of the New York Southern Society in New York in February.

Dr. A. R. Newsome delivered an address on "North Carolina, 1815-35: An Awakening Rip Van Winkle," before the Phi Kappa Phi Society of State College on February 6.

Dr. Archibald Henderson is the author of a series of North Carolina historical articles appearing in the Sunday editions of the *News and Observer* and other daily newspapers, on the following subjects and dates: December 2, the Alexander family; December 9, Edward Thatch or "Blackbeard"; December 16, Governor John W. Ellis; December 23, January 6, and January 20, the Dismal Swamp Canal; December 30, General Francis Nash; January 13, 27, and February 10, North Carolina and the R. F. D. Service; February 3, John Steele; February 17, Frederick H. Koch; February 24, Whitmel Hill.

Noteworthy articles in recent publications are: William E. Dodd, "The Emergence of the First Social Order in the United States" (*American Historical Review*, January); Thomas Robinson Hay, "John C. Calhoun and the Presidential Campaign of 1824: Some Unpublished Calhoun Letters, II" (*ibid.*); John

Joseph Stoudt, "The German Press in Pennsylvania and the American Revolution" (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, January); Lucile Stilwell Williams, "John Cabell Breckinridge" (*Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, January); Leonard S. Kenworthy, "Henry Clay at Richmond in 1842" (*Indiana Magazine of History*, December, 1934); Marion Hathaway, "Dorothea Dix and Social Reform in Western Pennsylvania, 1845-1875" (*Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, December, 1934); Fred Landon and Everett E. Edwards, "A Bibliography of the Writings of Professor Ulrich Bonnell Phillips" (*Agricultural History*, October, 1934); Charles W. Bryan, Jr., "Richard Callaway, Kentucky Pioneer" (*Filson Club History Quarterly*, January); David D. Wallace, "Social Classes and Customs in South Carolina, 1830-60" (*Americana*, first quarter); Robert Dabney Calhoun, "The Origin and Early Development of County-Parish Government in Louisiana" (*Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, January); Randolph C. Downes, "Dunmore's War: An Interpretation" (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, 1934); Thomas D. Clark, "The Slave Trade between Kentucky and the Cotton Kingdom" (*ibid.*); Brainerd Dyer, "Confederate Naval and Privateering Activities in the Pacific" (*Pacific Historical Review*, December, 1934); Sanford Winston, "Indian Slavery in the Carolina Region" (*Journal of Negro History*, October, 1934); S. A. Ashe, "Abraham Lincoln, the Citizen" (*Tyler's Quarterly*, January); Julia Cherry Spruill, "The Southern Lady's Library, 1700-1776" (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, January); Josiah Moffatt, "A Merchant-Planter of the Old South" (*ibid.*); H. L. Mencken, "The South Astir" (*Virginia Quarterly Review*, January); Archibald Henderson, "The Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society: Its History and Achievements" (*Journal of the Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society*, December, 1934); Alma Holland, "Publications in the Field of Science from the University of North Carolina (1795-1934)" (*ibid.*); A. R. Newsome, "National Support of Public Education" (*North Carolina Education*, January).

Acknowledgment is made of the receipt of the following publications: Jennings B. Sanders, *Evolution of Executive Departments of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Chapel Hill:

University of North Carolina Press. 1935. Pp. ix, 213. \$2.00); Randle Bond Truett, *Trade and Travel Around the Southern Appalachians before 1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1935. Pp. xii, 192); Arthur J. Larsen, *Crusader and Feminist: Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm, 1858-1865* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1934. Pp. xii, 327); Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké, 1822-1844*, 2 volumes (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1934. Pp. xxxvii, 1023); Ira B. Cross, *A History of the Labor Movement in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1935. Pp. xi, 354. \$3.00); Charles S. Hyne-man, *The First American Neutrality* (Urbana: University of Illinois. Pp. 178. \$2.50); Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee: A Biography*, volumes III and IV (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1935. Pp. xi, 559; viii, 594. \$3.75 per volume).

The East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 6, 1934, contains the following articles: Paul M. Fink, "Smoky Mountains History as Told in Place-Names"; V. M. Queener, "Gideon Blackburn"; Robert H. White, "Tennessee's Four Capitals"; Culver H. Smith, "Propaganda Technique in the Jackson Campaign of 1828"; Edd Winfield Parks, "Craddock's First Pseudonym"; S. F. Folmsbee, "The Origins of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad"; Laura A. Luttrell, "Writings on Tennessee History"; and Samuel C. Williams, "The Executive Journal of Governor John Sevier."

Recent accessions to the collections of the Historical Commission include files of *The Field and Fireside* (Raleigh), 1866, presented by Dr. Clarence Poe, Raleigh; an addition of 988 letters, chiefly in the 18th century, to the John Gray Blount Collection, deposited by Col. W. B. Rodman of Norfolk; minute book of the Fayetteville Fire Engine Company, No. 2, 1833-53, presented by Mr. George McNeill, Fayetteville; and a collection of about 450 church association minutes dating from 1875.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. William Alexander Mabry is an instructor in history in Duke University, Durham, N. C.

Dr. W. G. Bean is a professor of history in Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

Dr. Marguerite Bartlett Hamer is an assistant professor of history in the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Miss Elizabeth G. McPherson is employed in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt is chief library assistant in the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.

Miss Mary L. Thornton is in charge of the North Carolina Collection in the University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.

# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## THE FIRST BOUNDARY SURVEY BETWEEN THE CAROLINAS

MARVIN LUCIAN SKAGGS

### I

Controversies with regard to boundary limits have characterized the relations of the political units within the territory of the United States from their beginnings. These controversies have not only been the subject of negotiations between the units concerned, but have often become so acrimonious as vitally to affect their peaceful relations and even permanently to color their history and shape their destinies. Such issues as security of territory, State's rights, peace and war, economic welfare, right of settlement, national politics, international relations, and even the existence of the Union, have been at stake. Statesmen and scholars have not failed to point out their great significance.<sup>1</sup>

The dispute between the Carolinas was one of the oldest and the most lengthy of all of these boundary controversies, and involved elements unique in their nature and character. The northern section of the original province was settled by an immigration to a great degree alien in origin and race to that of the southern section, and remained so throughout the period of their boundary bickerings. Physical, economic, and social conditions played a great part in maintaining the ever-widening differences between the two sections, while an ungenerous attitude of superiority on the part of South Carolina tended to alienate the good will of North Carolina. This controversy, therefore, involved more than the mere use of surveyors' instruments and

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Journals of the Continental Congress, April 15, 1776; quotations from John Jay and others in Allen Nevins, *The American States During and After the Revolution, 1775-1789* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927), pp. 581, 590; Connor, R. D. W., *The Colonial and Revolutionary Periods, 1584-1783*, Vol. I in Connor, Boyd and Hamilton, *The History of North Carolina*, 3 vols. (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1919), pp. 241-2.

the erection of line markers; all of the elements mentioned above combined to cause the development of a spiritual division between the two sections which preceded and accompanied the agitation for and progress of the permanent division of Carolina.

The possibility of a division of the province of Carolina was recognized at its inception. The Charter of 1663, though it referred to the territory as one province, granted to the proprietors the authority to lease any part of it. That of 1665 gave the specific power "to erect, constitute, and make several counties, baronnies, and colonies, of and within the said province, territories, lands, and hereditaments, . . ." and to enact laws appertaining to a "county, baronny, or colony. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

The germ of physical division of Carolina appeared in the establishment of separate and distinct governmental units in the northern and southern sections. The system was begun in the year of the granting of the first charter. In the fall of 1663 Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, was instructed to organize a government at Albemarle, and was authorized to appoint two governors for that region should he deem it wise and practical.<sup>3</sup> The following summer he appointed William Drummond governor. By 1665 the first Assembly was held, and the settlement became self-governing. The charter of the latter date included Albemarle in the Carolina grant, and the proprietors thereafter set up administrative divisions as they desired.

Pursuant to the commission of the Lords Proprietors, dated December 26, 1671, Sir John Yeamans was proclaimed governor "of all this Territory or part of the Province of Carolina that lyeth to the Southward and Westward of Cape Carteret," by the Grand Council of South Carolina.<sup>4</sup> In the previous year the region around Charleston had been settled, and the settlements at Albemarle and Charleston were soon spoken of as North Carolina and South Carolina. Albemarle was called North Carolina by the Virginia Council as early as 1688.<sup>5</sup> On December 5,

<sup>2</sup> Thorpe, Francis N., *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies now or heretofore Forming the United States of America* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), V, 2763.

<sup>3</sup> *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 10 vols. (Raleigh: Hale and Daniels, 1886-1890), I, 49. (Cited hereafter as *C. R.*)

<sup>4</sup> Journal of the Grand Council of South Carolina (MSS.), March 16, 1671-2.

<sup>5</sup> Other similar divisional terms were often used in referring to the northern section. For example, "This day a letter was given . . . to ye Govr & Council at ye North pt. of Carolina." *Records in the British Public Record Office Relating to South Carolina, 1663-1684*. (A. S. Salley, Jr., ed., 1929), August 6, 1691. Cited hereafter as *Brit.-S. C. Rec.*, 1663-1684.

1689, the proprietors commissioned Colonel Philip Ludwell "Governour of that part of our Province of Carolina that lyes north and east of Cape feare,"<sup>6</sup> thus separating Carolina into two political divisions with specified limits. On November 28, 1691, Ludwell was instructed to have the counties of Albemarle, Colleton, Berkeley, and Craven elect five delegates each, to meet at a place to be designated by himself,<sup>7</sup> though the Albemarle government was continued unaltered for a time. However, on June 20, 1694, legislative division was effected through an Act "for the determination of the General Assemblies,"<sup>8</sup> which specified such a division. Ludwell became governor of all Carolina in November, 1691,<sup>9</sup> and appointed Thomas Jarvis<sup>10</sup> as deputy governor of North Carolina, as authorized in his commission. In December, 1708, the proprietors appointed Edward Tynte "Governor of our whole province of South and North Carolina,"<sup>11</sup> and on his death in 1711 they appointed Edward Hyde "Govern<sup>r</sup> of North Carolina" in his own right.<sup>12</sup> The appointment was approved by the Crown, and on May 9, 1712, Hyde received his commission as "Gov<sup>r</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Adm<sup>l</sup> Comand<sup>r</sup> in Chiefe of that part of y<sup>e</sup> province of Carolina that lyes N<sup>o</sup> & E<sup>t</sup> of Cape ffeare Called N<sup>o</sup> Carolina."<sup>13</sup> Thus began the complete separation of the government of North Carolina from that of South Carolina, and the plan was soon consummated. On August 16, 1720, Colonel John Barnwell of South Carolina and Joseph Boone, her agent in London, stated to the Board of Trade that North Carolina and South Carolina were two distinct governments and "are independent of each other in all respects."<sup>14</sup>

This development toward separation was given impetus by the glaring inefficiency of the proprietary government. Its defects

<sup>6</sup> *C. R.*, I, 360.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 377.

<sup>8</sup> Trott, Nicholas, *Laws of South Carolina* (MSS.), 1719, p. 36.

<sup>9</sup> *C. R.*, I, 380.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 467.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 695.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 799.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 841.

<sup>14</sup> Public Records of South Carolina (MSS.), VIII, 252. (Cited hereafter as Pub. Rec. of S. C.). Permanent division had been recommended in 1695 in order to improve the system of collecting the king's customs duties. When Edward Randolph, Collector of Customs, made his report to the Commissioners of Customs in that year, he included the following recommendation:

"Wherefore for prevention of so great a mischief to England tis humbly proposed

1st That the south part of Carolina and all the Bahama Islands be put under His Majesties immediate authority

2nd That North Carolina be annexed and put under the care and inspection of His Majesties Governor of Virginia. . . ." *C. R.*, I, 441. The proposal, however, was never carried into effect.

were tragically evident in 1715. During the dangers to the people of South Carolina accompanying the war with the Yemassee Indians, their officials applied to England for troops for protection, and it is significant to note that in so doing the South Carolina General Assembly completely ignored the proprietors and applied for aid directly "To the Kings most Excellent Majesty."<sup>15</sup> The proprietors admitted their inability to afford protection to the province, and the question of its purchase by the Crown was considered, but no definite action was taken. By 1719, conditions in the colony had become intolerable, and the proud, courageous South Carolinians determined to revolt. Their Assembly resolved itself into a convention and threw off the authority of the proprietors. They elected James Moore governor, and made application to the King to receive South Carolina as a royal province.<sup>16</sup> This raised the question of a North Carolina-South Carolina boundary line.<sup>17</sup>

The South Carolina authorities claimed the Cape Fear as their boundary, asserting that their government had been granting lands on its banks for years. Their claim was accurate regarding land grants.<sup>18</sup> As there were no settlements in the Cape Fear region in the earlier period, the boundary question was not so important and North Carolina also granted lands on the southern bank of the Cape Fear before the line was run.<sup>19</sup> The Lords Proprietors—the real owners of the whole region—called the Cape Fear the line of division. In August, 1713, they were complaining of injuries from illegal grants being issued for lands south of that stream.<sup>20</sup> Governor Boone and Colonel Barnwell of South Carolina reported to the Board of Trade in November, 1720, that

<sup>15</sup> Pub. Rec. of S. C., VI, 86, 116.

<sup>16</sup> Yonge, Francis, "A Narrative of the Proceedings of the People of South Carolina in the year 1719; and of the True Causes and motives that induced them to Renounce their Obedience to the Lords Proprietors, as their Governors, and to put themselves under the Immediate Government of the Crown" (London, 1726), *passim*. B. R. Carroll, ed., *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, 2 Vols., II, 141-196.

<sup>17</sup> There was consideration of Carolina boundaries as early as 1681, but it is not clear what portion is referred to. In the records of a meeting of the Proprietors in July of that year the following entry appears:

Agreed yt.....

"The [That] ye bounds be adjusted." Brit.-S. C. Rec., 1663-1684.

<sup>18</sup> For example, on August 17, 1714, one Thomas Hughes received a grant of 409 acres of land in Craven County, "butting and bounding to the . . . East on Cape Fear River. . . ." Proprietors' Grants (MSS., S. C.), Vol. 39, No. 2. On September 6 of the same year, Price Hughes received a grant of 3,184 acres on Cape Fear River in the same county, "butting and bounding to the Northeast on said River. . . ." *Ibid.*, Vol. 39, No. 2. See also, Index to Grants, A to K, 1695 to 1776 (S. C.); S. C. Commons House Journals, 1734-1736 (MSS.), No. 9, p. 197.

<sup>19</sup> Ashe, S. A., *History of North Carolina*, 2 Vols. (Vol. I, Greensboro, 1908; Vol. II, Raleigh, 1925), I, 215.

<sup>20</sup> Pub. Rec. of S. C., VI, 56.

many of the prevailing controversies regarding the boundary were caused by the carelessness of the proprietors in referring to Cape Fear as the boundary without mentioning the Cape Fear River.<sup>21</sup> The Board of Trade was also specifying Cape Fear as the northern limit. In its report to the King on September 8, 1721, the following item appears: "South Carolina . . . extends from Cape Fear to the River St. Mathias. . . ."<sup>22</sup>

Thus the writer has some doubt as to the accuracy of a statement by the late W. L. Saunders, editor of the *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, that the Cape Fear River never was the dividing line between the Carolinas.<sup>23</sup> A review of the facts may aid in defending this view. The proprietors were definitely designating Cape Fear as the boundary between the two provinces; South Carolina officials clearly indicated that it was only through carelessness of statement that the proprietors were referring to Cape Fear as the line instead of the Cape Fear River; those officials themselves understood and insisted that the river was the boundary; the Board of Trade reported to the King that the northern limits of South Carolina were at Cape Fear; South Carolina was granting lands on the southern banks of the Cape Fear with the full knowledge of the proprietors; and the proprietors were complaining that North Carolina was granting lands in the same region. Furthermore, in 1757 South Carolina still insisted that the Cape Fear River was the "Ancient Boundary." Hence, that stream may have been for a time the dividing line.

The first occasion of agitation for determining a permanent boundary line between the Carolinas was a constant failure of the southern province to secure the return of fugitives from justice. In the fall of 1713 the governor and council of South Carolina had made a formal request of the proprietors to have the dividing line permanently established, but after considering the request the latter "thought it a matter of such consequence" as to require more mature consideration.<sup>24</sup> Their secretary stated to Thomas Pollock that action had been postponed, but that he would present the request again at their next meeting and "en-

<sup>21</sup> *C. R.*, II, 395.

<sup>22</sup> *Pub. Rec. of S. C.*, IX, 66.

<sup>23</sup> *C. R.*, II, vii.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 63.

deavor all I can to have a determination of the Matter in your favor."<sup>25</sup> Nothing was done toward establishing the line at that time, however, though disputes were frequently arising and fugitives constantly escaping to the Cape Fear region. The South Carolina Assembly represented to the Board of Trade in September, 1721, "how much this province suffers by the Inhabitants and slaves running away there where they are succoured"; hence, they declared, it is imperative that the boundary be permanently established.<sup>26</sup> South Carolina business men were taking notice of the situation and the abuses which it made possible. For years they had observed the practice of evasion of debts by taking advantage of the lack of a permanent boundary. They had frequently called the attention of the London merchants to "a desertion" to the Cape Fear, "where they think their Credit<sup>rs</sup> can't reach them." In 1727 they renewed the demand of 1719 for immediate establishment of a royal government, and urged the appointment of a royal governor with specific instructions "to have Cape Fear ascertained in this Government."<sup>27</sup> Two months later, a London merchant, acting as agent for the president and council of South Carolina, presented a memorial to the Board of Trade requesting that an order be secured from the Royal Council placing Cape Fear with "all its Settlem<sup>ts</sup>" in South Carolina.<sup>28</sup> In December, Governor Robert Johnson used his influence in support of this request, and for the same reasons. He wrote to the secretary of the Board of Trade that the boundary line must be determined in order to prevent South Carolinians from running to "Cape Fair" and permanently settling there "to defraud their Creditors. . . ."<sup>29</sup> Cape Fear, he urged, should be declared within the limits of South Carolina to check this evil.

As early as 1721 the situation had acquired sufficient importance to cause South Carolina to take positive steps toward securing an adjustment. As a result of her revolutionary change in government, that province expected a radical change in the

<sup>25</sup> *C. R.*, II, 63.

<sup>26</sup> *Pub. Rec. of S. C.*, IX, 123. The Board of Trade were sufficiently concerned over the general confusion that they reported it to the King immediately. *C. R.*, II, 419.

<sup>27</sup> Extract of a letter from "Considerable Merchant" in South Carolina to another in London, May 24, 1727. He declared that all friends of South Carolina should strongly discourage settlement at Cape Fear, which "Mr. Moor" and his friends in South Carolina are working to establish as an independent government. *Pub. Rec. of S. C.*, XII, 215-216.

<sup>28</sup> Memorial from Mr. Godin in behalf of the President and Council of South Carolina, July 23, 1737. *Ibid.*, XIII, 338, 341.

<sup>29</sup> Governor Johnson to the Secretary, December 19, 1729. *C. R.*, III, 51.

relations of North Carolina with the proprietors and the Crown. Consequently, South Carolina instructed her newly appointed agents in London, Francis Yonge and John Lloyd, to endeavor to bring about a settlement. If North Carolina should remain a distinct government, they were to apply for the King's orders to the governors of North Carolina and South Carolina to meet and make an agreement regarding the line, and to urge that "the head of the North Branch of the Cape Fear River and from thence by a due west line parallel to Virginia be the settled bounds forever. . . ." <sup>30</sup> If the northern province should be made a royal colony, they were to urge that it be put under the jurisdiction of South Carolina. The expected change in the form of government was not made at that time, however, and no action was taken to determine a permanent line.

The possibility of a "fatal" contraction of her territory on the south and west intensified South Carolina's demand for her northern claims. Following the Yemassee War and the accompanying threat of a Spanish advance from the south, the proprietors determined to establish a government south of South Carolina with the Savannah River as its northern boundary, in the region of modern Georgia. <sup>31</sup> This plan ultimately led to the first definite action toward an adjustment of the line.

In April, 1725, South Carolina again petitioned the King to issue instructions that "Effectual means may be taken to Ascertain the Boundaries of this Your Province towards the Government of North Carolina," <sup>32</sup> but without results.

In the meantime, there had been a permanent change in the form of government in both North Carolina and South Carolina. <sup>33</sup> In January, 1728, seven of the Lords Proprietors signed a memo-

<sup>30</sup> *C. R.*, II, 448.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, II, vii. Saunders says this is the origin of the demand for a definite northern boundary, but the writer disagrees with this view. As shown above, the demand for a dividing line preceded the Georgia question. *Supra*, p. 217. That question was, to a great extent, the result of the colony's demand for a royal government with permanent boundaries, affording the colony the King's protection. The two questions came in the order of cause and effect. The establishment of a buffer colony was calculated both to afford protection and silence the colony's demand for a definitely limited royal government. However, the chartering of Georgia in 1732 gave impetus to the movement for a permanent line and hastened the survey of 1735; but it must be remembered that the boundary agitation was then two decades old.

<sup>32</sup> Petition of the South Carolina Assembly, sent to Francis Yonge, her agent in London. *Pub. Rec. of S. C.*, XII, 35.

<sup>33</sup> South Carolina had been under royal government since 1719, but, as we have seen, the change was only provisional. Francis Nicholson was installed as "Provisional" Royal Governor. McGrady, Edward, *The History of South Carolina Under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897), pp. 673, 750. The movement which had been in progress toward purchase by the Crown for some time probably was interrupted by the death of George I in 1727.

rial offering to surrender their interests in the Carolinas,<sup>34</sup> and an act was passed by the British Parliament during its session of 1728 authorizing the purchase of the original province from the proprietors.<sup>35</sup> Their rights to the territory were surrendered to the Crown by deed dated July 25, 1729.<sup>36</sup> Official division of the area into two provinces followed the purchase immediately.<sup>37</sup>

Thus, during the proprietary period the controversy went through a gradual development. Topographical features of Carolina had produced a natural tendency on the part of the inhabitants toward a division of the territory into two sections separately administered; the possibility of such a division was contained in the early charters; such division was often urged, particularly at the Cape Fear and Santee rivers. Each colony claimed one of these river courses as the boundary. The Santee was the more equitable point of division. The proprietors had admitted their inability to govern the province efficiently and had sold their shares, save one, to the Crown. With the royal purchase came specific political and administrative division of the territory into Crown colonies and direct negotiations for locating a permanent dividing line. This was the status of the boundary question at the close of the proprietary period.

## II

The administrative division of Carolina by the Crown after the purchase from the proprietors was direct and definite. On January 15, 1729/30, George II commissioned Captain George Burrington "Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over our Province of North Carolina in America."<sup>38</sup> Colonel Robert Johnson was likewise commissioned governor of South Carolina, December 11, 1729.

Both of the royal governors resumed the efforts they had put forth while proprietary governors of their respective provinces toward ascertaining and marking a dividing line. They held personal conferences looking toward a mutual agreement regarding the location of the boundary, and while in London in January, 1729/30, they attended a meeting of the Board of Trade and an-

<sup>34</sup> Ashe, *History*, I, 217.

<sup>35</sup> 2nd George 2nd, Chap. 34. Quoted in *South Carolina Statutes at Large*, I, 60-70.

<sup>36</sup> *South Carolina Statutes at Large*, I, 405.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 41.

<sup>38</sup> *C. R.*, III, 66.

nounced that they had reached an agreement.<sup>39</sup> Two weeks later, the Board of Trade and the two governors agreed on a dividing line to begin thirty miles southwest of Cape Fear River and "to be run at that parallel distance the whole course of the said river."<sup>40</sup> The Board ordered that an article to that effect be inserted in the draughts of the governors' instructions. This was clearly a compromise between the Cape Fear River, designated by the proprietors, and the Santee River which favored North Carolina.

Governor Johnson drew up a memorial on his instructions regarding the line, which was read before the Board of Trade June 9, 1730; and the following day his suggested line was incorporated in a set of one hundred twenty-four instructions as the one hundred tenth.<sup>41</sup> He modified the agreement of January 22, however, in "the following way of expressing it to answer the same intent: vid That a line shall be run (by Commissioners appointed by each province) beginning at the Sea 30 miles distant from the Mouth of Cape Fear River on the South West side thereof keeping the same distance from the said River as the course thereof runs to the main source or head thereof and from thence the said boundary line shall be continued due west as far as the South Seas. But if Waccamaw River lyes within 30 miles of Cape Fear River then that River to be the boundary from the sea to the head thereof, and from thence to keep the distance of 30 miles Parallel from Cape Fear River to the head thereof and from thence a due West Course to the South Sea."<sup>42</sup>

South Carolina set out immediately to have the line ascertained and marked. On October 27, 1730/31, Governor Johnson wrote to Governor Burrington asking that commissioners be appointed "for speedy running" the line, according to royal instructions.<sup>43</sup> The question of a proper interpretation of those instructions then arose and the North Carolina Council, favoring Burrington's in-

<sup>39</sup> Journal of the Board of Trade, quoted in *C. R.*, III, 124, and in *Pub. Rec. of S. C.*, XIV, 1. The Journal records:

"WHITEHALL, Thursday, Janry 8, 1729/30

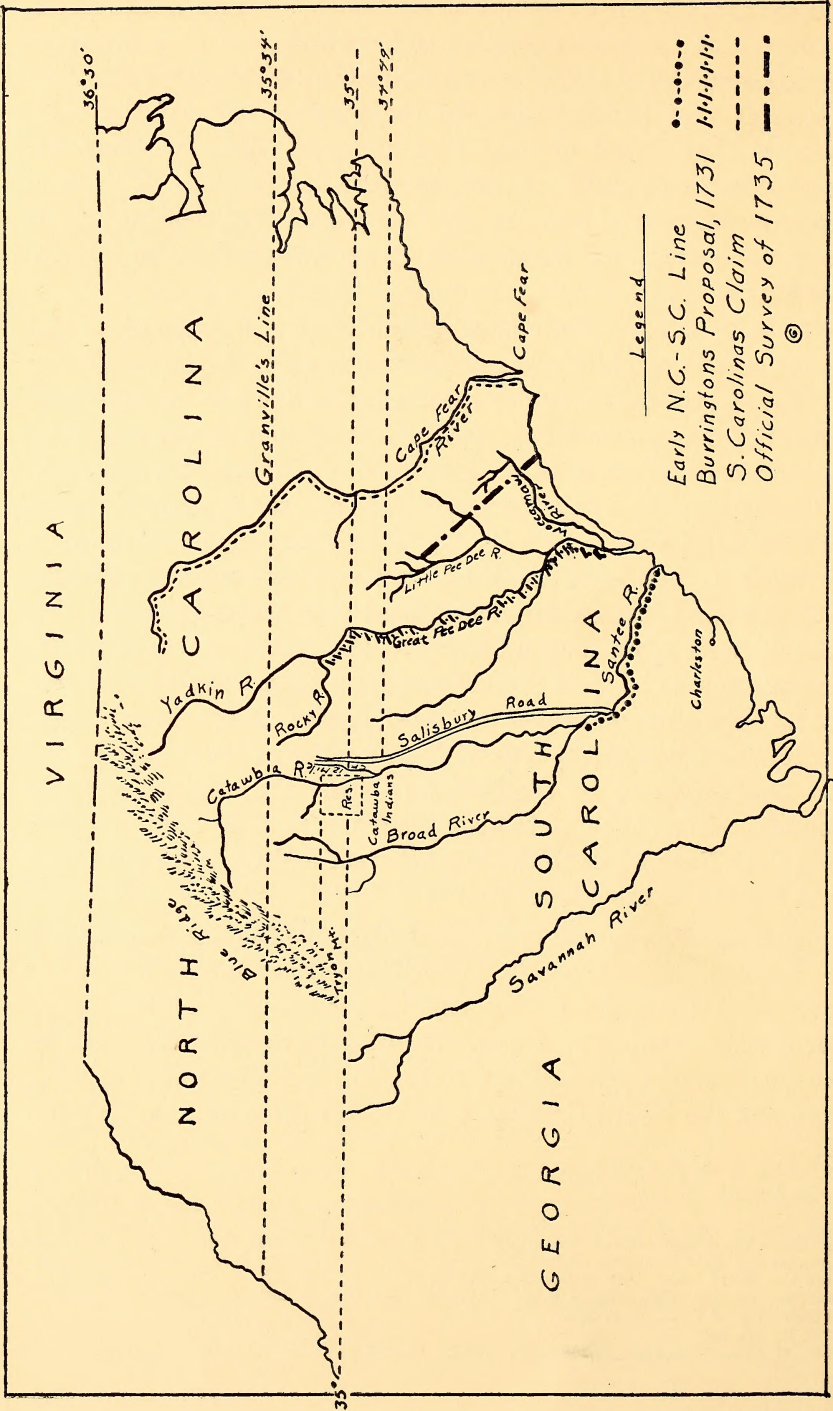
Col. Johnson Govr of South Carolina . . . attending with some other gentlemen belonging to those Provinces acquainted the Board that they had agreed upon a division line between those Provinces and their Lordships desired they would mark the line upon a Map and lay the same before the Board which they promised accordingly."

<sup>40</sup> *C. R.*, III, 125; *Pub. Rec. of S. C.*, XIV, 1-2. See map, p. 222.

<sup>41</sup> *Pub. Rec. of S. C.*, XIV, 206.

<sup>42</sup> *C. R.*, III, 84.

<sup>43</sup> N. C. Council Journal, January 17, 1731-2. Quoted in *C. R.*, III, 398.



NORTH CAROLINA - SOUTH CAROLINA BOUNDARY DISPUTE

terpretation, advised him to defer appointing commissioners until the King's further pleasure was known.<sup>44</sup> The governor accepted their advice and let the matter rest for the time being.<sup>45</sup>

The difference of interpretation came over the wording of the royal instructions which described the line. Those instructions conclude as follows: "But if Waccamaw River lyes within 30 miles of Cape Fear River then that River to be the boundary. . . ."<sup>46</sup> Governor Johnson claimed that the Board of Trade concluded that the first clause of the instructions should stand,<sup>47</sup> "unless the MOUTH<sup>48</sup> of the Wackamaw was within thirty miles of Cape Fear River . . ."; that the word "mouth" was omitted only through mistake.<sup>49</sup> Governor Burrington claimed, on the other hand, that the first clause of the instructions was to stand unless the Waccamaw River, in any part of its course, was within thirty miles of the Cape Fear.

From a strictly legal standpoint, Governor Burrington's position was sound. It appears quite improbable that a whole phrase, "the mouth of," was omitted from this document by an expert clerical force. But granting that the improbable occurred, and that the point was directly discussed between the Board and the two governors, and that Burrington and the Board agreed with Johnson on the term "mouth of the Wackamaw," as the latter contended,<sup>50</sup> still, the instructions to the two governors were at hand, identical, and bore out Burrington's contentions.<sup>51</sup> If South Carolina had been allowed to read into the instructions one additional provision, she might have been able to have added other radical changes; hence, Burrington evidently felt it safer to observe strictly the letter of the instructions. He declared that "The head of the Wackamaw river is within 10 miles of Cape Fear River . . ."<sup>52</sup> and the South Carolina General Assembly admitted that it was not over 14 miles distant at certain portions of its

<sup>44</sup> Burrington to Board of Trade, February 20, 1731-2. He repeated the above facts, explaining his failure to act by stating that he was advised to wait until he "was honored with an answer from England on that subject." *C. R.*, III, 336.

<sup>45</sup> As late as September, 1732, Governor Johnson filed a written complaint with the Board of Trade that he had urged Governor Burrington to appoint commissioners, "but he has not answered that Letter. . . ." Johnson to Board of Trade, September 28, 1732. *State Records of North Carolina* (Vols. XI-XXVI, 1895-1905, Clark, Walter, ed.), XI, 20. Cited hereafter as *S. R.*

<sup>46</sup> *Supra*, p. 221.

<sup>47</sup> That is, the Cape Fear parallel clause.

<sup>48</sup> The capitals are the writer's.

<sup>49</sup> *S. R.*, XI, 19.

<sup>50</sup> *S. R.*, XI, 19.

<sup>51</sup> *Pub. Rec. of S. C.*, XIV, 206; *C. R.*, III, 115.

<sup>52</sup> *S. R.*, XI, 20.

course.<sup>53</sup> However, there was much reason in Governor Johnson's protest that such a line would extend the North Carolina boundary into the heart of his province.<sup>54</sup> He also urged Burrington to request the Board to clarify this point in the instructions.

Governor Burrington was persistent in his efforts to prevent the running of the line parallel to the Cape Fear River. He attacked the proposal from the standpoint of the great expense it would incur—argument which he knew would be carefully weighed by the British authorities. He informed the Secretary of State that it would cost at least £2,000 to survey and mark the proposed line; whereas, the Pee Dee River could be made the boundary and save the expense and trouble of a survey.<sup>55</sup> He reminded the secretary that the Santee River formerly divided the two provinces.

The North Carolina governor followed up these efforts to prevent the survey with another appeal to the Board of Trade at the beginning of the following year. He stated that nothing had been done regarding the boundary, and repeated his statement that the Pee Dee River would be a "natural and proper division." South Carolina would then contain twice the amount of territory left to North Carolina, he stated, adding that if the King should order the line to be run, finances would have to be provided; and he then raised his estimate of the cost of a survey to £3,000 sterling.<sup>56</sup> This Pee Dee River proposal was a more equitable compromise line than that contended for by South Carolina. But regardless of cost and the great inconvenience and injustice inherent in the Cape Fear parallel line, Governor Johnson had significantly stated, "I fear no boundary can be settled" unless the line is run thirty miles south of the Cape Fear.<sup>57</sup> Burrington further endeavored to block Johnson's plans by publishing a warning to "unadvised people" of South Carolina against taking out grants for lands north of Waccamaw River and thereby "parting with their money to no purpose."<sup>58</sup> Johnson replied in kind, adding that he was only awaiting further instructions from the

<sup>53</sup> S. C. Council Journals, 1734-1736, No. 6, pp. 27-29.

<sup>54</sup> S. R., XI, 21.

<sup>55</sup> Burrington to Newcastle, July 2, 1731. C. R., III, 154.

<sup>56</sup> Burrington to Board of Trade, January 1, 1731-2. C. R., III, 435.

<sup>57</sup> S. R., XI, 21.

<sup>58</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, October 21, 1732. Quoted in S. C. *Statutes at Large*, I, 406; S. R., XI, 19.

Board of Trade.<sup>59</sup> In the meantime, he had been pleading with the Board of Trade to continue in their original "intentions" as to the location of the line, and "to let him and me know your pleasure."<sup>60</sup> He declared that adoption of the Waccamaw River line would make it impossible to prevent illegal trade, for ships would simply go a short way up that stream and be out of his jurisdiction.

When their "pleasure" was revealed, it was seen that the Board of Trade had ignored the letter of the instructions and directed that the boundary line be run thirty miles south of the Cape Fear River and parallel to that stream.<sup>61</sup> The Board had favored South Carolina.

The matter was dropped for some time after this order was transmitted, possibly because of the change of governors of North Carolina.<sup>62</sup> The new governor, Gabriel Johnston, had to adjust himself to his new government and to inform himself regarding the whole boundary question. However, Governor Burrington had succeeded in preventing the survey. His greatest service in the controversy was in deferring this unreasonable survey until a better line could be agreed upon.

The actions and provocations of the Tuscarora Indians, however, soon caused a renewal of efforts on the part of South Carolina to secure a definite and permanent dividing line. The governor of that province wrote to Governor Johnston regarding the Indians and the necessity of determining the boundary. The reply was read in the Upper House of the South Carolina Assembly January 24, 1734/5,<sup>63</sup> and after a committee was appointed, the letter and the royal instructions relative to the location were sent to the Lower House for immediate consideration.<sup>64</sup> Action was prompt, and the following day the Commons House returned a report of a joint committee which contended for the Cape Fear parallel line and recommended that the governor notify Governor Johnston of the sense of the Assembly. It was also recommended that commissioners be appointed to run the line as soon as the

<sup>59</sup> S. C. *Statutes at Large*, I, 407; S. R., XI, 19.

<sup>60</sup> Pub. Rec. of S. C., XVI, 6-7; S. R., XI, 20. It must be remembered that it was Johnson himself who had the Waccamaw River provision added to the Board's original instructions.

<sup>61</sup> Secretary Popple to Governor Burrington, August 16, 1732. C. R., III, 355.

<sup>62</sup> Burrington was succeeded by Johnston in April, 1733.

<sup>63</sup> S. C. Council Journals, 1734-1736, No. 6, p. 22.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

governors came to an agreement on the interpretation of their instructions. Meantime, South Carolina should require all inhabitants along the Waccamaw residing within thirty miles of Cape Fear to pay taxes, and Governor Johnston should be requested to reprimand severely the Tuscarora Indians.<sup>65</sup>

Definite progress was made toward an actual survey when, in 1735, the respective governors appointed commissioners to determine the line.<sup>66</sup> The appointments in South Carolina caused a disturbance of relations between the legislative and executive branches of the government. The Lower House displayed poor judgment in selecting their nominees, having included no one with technical knowledge. The governor urged that a surveyor be included, but the House replied that their nominees were "very capable" of performing their duties, and refused to alter the nominations.<sup>67</sup> The South Carolina Assembly had been notified a month before that North Carolina had appointed commissioners. Nevertheless, they wrangled over personnel and compensation at intervals for over a month until the governor took the matter of appointment into his own hands and, with the advice of the Council, appointed commissioners on March 19. He did later appoint one nominee of the Assembly's selection, however. He had previously written Governor Johnston designating March 25 for a meeting of the commissioners on the Cape Fear;<sup>68</sup> this approaching date probably helps to account for his taking the appointments out of the hands of the Assembly. The disagreement between the governor and Assembly effectively delayed action on the line.

The commissioners assembled on the Cape Fear April 23<sup>69</sup> for the purpose of reaching an agreement as to procedure. Prospects of reaching an understanding were still dark. Governor Johnson was persisting in every effort to secure a boundary line favorable to South Carolina. He wrote to Perege Fury, the colony's agent in London, that if the "mouth" of the Waccamaw is within thirty miles of the Cape Fear it should be the boundary line, "and not

<sup>65</sup> S. C. Journals, 1734-1736, No. 6, pp. 27-29. The report was adopted.

<sup>66</sup> The following commissioners were appointed. For North Carolina: Robert Halton, Eleazer Allen, Matthew Rowan, Edward Moseley, and Roger Moore; for South Carolina: Alexander Skene, James Abercrombie, and William Walters. *C. R.*, V, 375; S. C. Council Journals, March 19, 1734-5; Commons House Journals, March 26, 1734-5.

<sup>67</sup> S. C. Commons House Journal, 1734-1736, pp. 192-193.

<sup>68</sup> S. C. Council Journals, February 14 to March 19, 1735, *passim*.

<sup>69</sup> Pub. Rec. of S. C., XVII, 311; *C. R.*, V, 374.

otherwise." He also reported the approaching meeting of the commissioners to determine a line, "tho' we apprehend with little probability of success."<sup>70</sup> This communication was sent to the Board of Trade and, after its reading and consideration, the Board "were of opinion that Wagyamaw River is . . . [according to royal instructions] the intended Boundary";<sup>71</sup> and they gave orders that the secretary prepare a letter to each of the governors accordingly. When drafting the letters a week later, the Board called in former Governor Burrington and Fury for consultation. Burrington expressed the opinion that the running of the Cape Fear parallel line was "hardly practicable," or if practicable it would be very expensive and difficult, the expense alone of running a line through that uninhabited wilderness would amount to "upwards of £4,000."<sup>72</sup> He added that the only natural boundary was the Pee Dee River, which would cost nothing to either province.<sup>73</sup> The Board deferred a final decision in order to consult former Governor Craven of South Carolina at a later meeting.<sup>74</sup> At the later meeting, however, final decision was again postponed.<sup>75</sup>

In the meantime, progress was being made in the colonies. After long and futile efforts had been made among the commissioners on the Cape Fear to reach an agreement, Governor Gabriel Johnston interposed as mediator and brought about an agreement "to the general satisfaction" of all concerned.<sup>76</sup> "In order to preserve and maintain a good correspondence between the inhabitants of both the said provinces and to prevent any future contests relating to the boundaries between the same," the commissioners agreed to the following articles, which were as agreeable "as may be" to the sense of the royal instructions:

1. The line shall begin at the Sea, thirty miles "from the West side of the mouth of the Cape Fear River."

<sup>70</sup> Johnson to Fury, March 14, 1735. *S. R.*, XI, 26.

<sup>71</sup> Journals of the Board of Trade, June 6, 1735. Quoted in *Pub. Rec. of S. C.*, XVII, 257; *C. R.*, IV, 27.

<sup>72</sup> Journals of the Board of Trade, June 13, 1735. *Pub. Rec. of S. C.*, XVII, 260-261; *C. R.*, IV, 28.

<sup>73</sup> Burrington's opinion was valuable because of its impartiality. As governor of North Carolina he had been removed from office after many conflicts with the people, and it was only natural and human that he should have enjoyed any stroke against their interests. He was big enough to ignore his grievances and offer an honest opinion.

<sup>74</sup> *C. R.*, IV, 28.

<sup>75</sup> Journals of the Board of Trade, June 26, 1735. *Pub. Rec. of S. C.*, XVII, 262-264.

<sup>76</sup> Journals of the Board of Trade, July 29, 1735. *Pub. Rec. of S. C.*, XVII, 267. See, also, *C. R.*, IV, 9; *S. R.*, XI, 28.

2. From thence it shall run on a northwest course to the thirty-fifth parallel of north latitude, and from thence due west "to the South Seas."<sup>77</sup>
3. If the said northwest course comes within five miles of Pee Dee River before reaching the thirty-fifth parallel, then a line shall be run parallel to said river at five miles distant from it to the said thirty-fifth parallel, and from thence a due west course as before; provided that such parallel line does not approach nearer to Cape Fear River than thirty miles; and in such case a northwest course shall be continued from the point where it so approaches.
4. If said westward line shall include any part of the Cherokee or Catawba Indians, it shall be "set off" so as to leave them in South Carolina, incircling them until the line shall again strike the thirty-fifth parallel and continue due westward.
5. The above articles shall be interchanged between the commissioners under their hands and seals.<sup>78</sup>

Thus after six weeks of fruitless conferences at Cape Fear,<sup>79</sup> during which time Governor Johnston saw there was no chance of agreement on a natural boundary—either the Santee, the Pee Dee, or the Cape Fear—he brought about an agreement which was a second compromise between the original South Carolina claim to the Cape Fear, and the North Carolina claim to the Santee River. He wrote a courteous letter to Governor Johnson of South Carolina with regard to the agreement, enclosing the text of the articles.<sup>80</sup> His most valuable contribution, after bringing about harmony among the commissioners, was in influencing them to agree on a straight line through the uninhabited country instead of attempting the tortuous task of paralleling the winding Cape Fear.

On May 30,<sup>81</sup> Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Broughton of South Carolina sent the Lower House all papers relating to the proceedings of the commissioners, with the letter from the governor of North Carolina, stating that he and the Council "approved of their conduct," and commending them for their prudent

<sup>77</sup> See map, p. 222.

<sup>78</sup> *C. R.*, V, 374-375; *S. C. Council Journals*, 1734-1737, No. 6, pp. 123-124; *Commons House Journals*, 1734-1736, p. 267.

<sup>79</sup> Abercrombie and Skene, commissioners, to Royal Council, April 19, 1737. *S. R.*, XI, 28.

<sup>80</sup> *S. C. Council Journals*, 1734-1737, No. 6, pp. 123-124; *Commons House Journals*, 1734-1736, p. 267. A joint committee was appointed to consider the provisions of the articles.

<sup>81</sup> This delay of a month in legislative and executive action was caused by the death of the South Carolina governor. Governor Johnson died May 3, and was succeeded by Thomas Broughton, who prorogued the Assembly to May 27.

management of the controversial question.<sup>82</sup> This apparently insignificant incident becomes of great importance in the later history of the dispute. The South Carolina Assembly, as will be shown, later challenged the legality of the survey carried out under this agreement. Hence, it is well to review the facts relating to the agreement in connection with this challenge.

In a report to the Board of Trade, the Assembly of South Carolina denied the legality of the survey on the following grounds: first, that it was not in accord with the royal instructions; and second, that it was not "countenanced by any Act of the Legislature of this Province."<sup>83</sup> The Assembly's position was untenable on both counts. First, after receiving copies of the articles of agreement, the British authorities not only raised no objection to them, but, in a spirit of generous approval, wrote Governor Johnston in September, 1735, that they find the line "has at last been adjusted by Commiss<sup>rs</sup> on both sides and we shall always have a proper regard to so solemn a determination agreed to by persons properly empowered by each of the provinces."<sup>84</sup> Second, the Council not only "approved" the articles of agreement,<sup>85</sup> but was very commendatory in its attitude; and the Lower House demonstrated its attitude by joining the Council in providing funds to extend the survey in the fall of the same year. The South Carolina commissioners, during the negotiations, had themselves asked the North Carolinians to regard the instructions lightly and agree to more "reasonable" terms, and then to aid in getting them ratified at home. An agreement was reached, and Johnston later stated to the Board of Trade that it was "ratified by their constituents."<sup>86</sup> The King himself later declared the line as then run to be the "final boundary" between the two colonies.<sup>87</sup> Thus it is evident that the British authorities approved the agreement and that South Carolina took sufficient

<sup>82</sup> S. C. Commons House Journal, May 30, 1734-5. Only three days before, one of the South Carolina commissioners had written the agent in London as follows:

"On my return from Cape Fear in North Carolina, where I have been as one of three Comrs to settle the Boundary between this and that province which we have been so lucky as to accomplish to general satisfaction, and at last remove that bone of Contention. . . . I received your letter." Pub. Rec. of S. C., XVII, 356. The general attitude revealed in this statement is important in view of later contentions of South Carolina regarding the agreement here referred to.

<sup>83</sup> S. R., XI, 129.

<sup>84</sup> C. R., IV, 17.

<sup>85</sup> S. C. Commons House Journals, 1734-1736, p. 280.

<sup>86</sup> C. R., IV, 295.

<sup>87</sup> S. R., XI, 234-235.

legislative action in carrying it into effect to amount to definite approval. Hence, her later challenge of its legality was unsupported by the facts.

A mutual agreement having been reached, the commissioners proceeded to carry it out.<sup>88</sup> They began the survey May 1, 1735, and spent weeks running the line, working under extremely difficult conditions in a veritable wilderness.<sup>89</sup> They proceeded thirty miles west and southwest from Cape Fear, coming within ten poles of the mouth of Little River; thence northwestward "to the place where it crossed the Country road,"<sup>90</sup> where they set up line markers. The commissioners then separated, agreeing to resume the survey September 18 following. If either party should fail to appear, the other was to continue the line, which was "to be binding upon both."<sup>91</sup> This timely clause proved to be the salvation of the North Carolinians so far as they desired to expedite the survey, as will later appear.

Following this interval came a period of irritating delay and confusion arising from the refusal of one of the governments to coöperate in furthering the survey. North Carolina authorities were anxious to continue the survey as soon as possible.<sup>92</sup> South Carolina, however, desirous of securing a boundary line more favorable to her interests, planned to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the death of Governor Johnson, under whose administration the line had been agreed upon, to send to the authorities in England a request for new instructions for locating the boundary. Governor Johnston of North Carolina wrote a letter of protest to the Board of Trade, urging that the Board ignore requests to alter an agreement which was made in good faith by South Carolina's own representatives, to whom she had given full authority to act.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> The South Carolina commissioners were not originally instructed to run the line, but after they had reached an agreement and returned to Charleston, they were reappointed to run and mark the line. *S. R.*, XI, 28.

<sup>89</sup> *S. R.*, XI, 29; Connor, *History*, p. 246.

<sup>90</sup> The writer has not been able to identify this "Country road."

<sup>91</sup> *C. R.*, V, 381.

<sup>92</sup> See letter from Governor Johnston to Board of Trade, May 25, 1735. *C. R.*, IV, 9; also *S. C. Council Journals*, March 24, 1735-6.

<sup>93</sup> "I hope," wrote the governor, "as it is now finished your Lordships wont hearken to any solicitations from our neighbors who I hear design since Mr. Johnson's death to procure a new Instruction more in their favour than the last, in order to have a pretence for receding from an agreement made by their own Commissioners fully empowered by themselves." *C. R.*, IV, 9. South Carolina had had the advantage in negotiations with the Board of Trade, for North Carolina had no agent in London before 1731 (*C. R.*, III, 287); whereas, South Carolina had maintained agents there for years previously.

If such "sollicitations" from the southern government ever reached the Board of Trade, they did not receive favorable action. The commissioners of both colonies, having completed the first of the survey in conformity with the articles of agreement, saw South Carolina accept their work; and Perege Fury, her agent in London, expressed the hope that that service "is now performed in such a manner as to free your Lordships from the trouble of any further enquiry into the affair."<sup>94</sup> The Board definitely accepted the work also, and in September ordered Lieutenant-Governor Broughton to send a draught of the survey signed by the commissioners who participated.<sup>95</sup> These actions by the colony and the Board of Trade should also be borne in mind when the later question of legality was raised.

The survey was resumed September 18, 1735, as agreed, and the North Carolina commissioners' suspicions with regard to attendance were borne out. The North Carolinians proceeded alone with the line, which they extended in the same northwesterly direction for about seventy miles. The commissioners from South Carolina did not arrive until October, when they proceeded to retrace the survey made by the North Carolinians for about forty miles, "and finding the work right so far,"<sup>96</sup> they dropped the task and sent a draught of what they had done to the Board of Trade. This confusion was the result of dissension between the South Carolina authorities and their commissioners. The latter halted and refused to continue the survey because of their failure to receive adequate remuneration for their services.<sup>97</sup>

Thus was completed the first survey of the Carolinas' common boundary. Discontent had been followed by agitation, then by negotiation, and finally by actual surveys. During this period the absence of a definite dividing line had served to retard settlement and ownership of the area in dispute, had often prevented the apprehension of fugitive slaves from South Carolina, and had encouraged crime. The boundary issue had involved the question of which colony should have the advantage in river transportation and commerce, and had jeopardized private financial trans-

<sup>94</sup> Fury to Board of Trade, July 29, 1735. *S. R.*, XI, 26.

<sup>95</sup> *C. R.*, IV, 29.

<sup>96</sup> *C. R.*, V, 382.

<sup>97</sup> *S. C. Council Journal, 1734-1737*, p. 209; *Commons House Journal, 1734-1736*, pp. 557-9.

actions. It became a disquieting element among business men in South Carolina and London. Furthermore, it disturbed normal relations between the legislative and executive branches of the South Carolina government, embittered relations between the two colonies, affected British colonial administration by encouraging a change in the form of government of the Carolinas, and played a part in international relations in connection with the Spanish advance from the south. This first boundary survey was only the beginning of a process the disputes over which were to continue, at times with results fatal to human life, for more than a century and a half. Two North Carolina governors had made valuable contributions to this first settlement—Burrington in playing for time and thereby preventing an unwise survey ordered by the Board of Trade until a practicable line could be agreed upon, and Johnston in leading the commissioners of both colonies to adopt a straight line instead of attempting to parallel an irregular river course. Governor Johnson of South Carolina must have been an inspiration to his people in his courageous fight to prevent the extension of North Carolina territory down into the "bowels"<sup>98</sup> of his province.

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<sup>98</sup> *S. R.*, XI, 21.

## SAWNEY WEBB: TENNESSEE'S SCHOOLMASTER

By EDD WINFIELD PARKS

When a fifth son was born to Alexander Smith and Cornelia Adeline Stanford Webb, on November 11, 1842, the parents were yet undecided as to a suitable name.<sup>1</sup> The father and close male relatives had previously been honored, after the family custom in the South; the name of the boy's maternal grandfather, Richard Stanford,<sup>2</sup> congressman from North Carolina (1797-1816), had been bestowed on an older brother. Some name must be had, and the child was called *Sawney*; probably as a compliment to his father, for Sawney is a Scottish diminutive of Alexander, a name already given to the fourth son. Duly a few weeks later the baby was christened William Robert, as a matter of record; in fact, he was Sawney, and through the changing years he remained Sawney Webb.

When he began to teach, immediately after the Civil War, he became Old Sawney, and the name in turn became a legend. By the inflection of old, schoolboys indicated whether the term was used in affection or in irritation. By 1900 his appearance justified the prefix, but by that time man and legend, in the public mind, had become one. Eventually they were one, for legend only spread through the country the lengthened shadow of a personality. And that person did not merely represent an institution; he was the institution. With high appropriateness, Webb School had become known far and wide as "Old Sawney's."

The distinction was deserved. Graying men looked back with nostalgic pride to Old Sawney's as to something set apart, which incorporated within itself the old-fashioned virtues, tangible and intangible, that a hurried world was rapidly discarding. That in itself was enough. But discerning men knew also that Sawney Webb had helped greatly to renovate the system of education in the old Southwest, and that his work continued to have vitality and influence after he was dead. The man and the legend survive, along with the work that he did, and it may not be out of

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<sup>1</sup> Webb, William R., Jr., "My Father and His Ideals of Education" (unpublished).

<sup>2</sup> *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress*, Washington, 1928, p. 1559.

place in this era to recall the ideas and ideals of a man whose work refuses to crumble under the grinding pressure of changing customs and fickle generations.<sup>3</sup>

## II

Sawney's early life was simple and pleasant—the first three years on a farm near Mount Tirzah in Person County, and after 1845 in the small town of Oaks, North Carolina, with congenial brothers and sisters for playmates and the wide freedom of a farm for playground. When Sawney was seven years old, his father died. As a youth, he realized only that some vital part was missing from life, and from this sense of loss came a later resolve that he would at all times be a father to the boys under him. By the time of his father's death he was in school, under a sixteen-year-old sister who taught the equivalent of eight modern grades. The schoolhouse was a log cabin, with backless puncheon benches; the boys split wood for the stove, made the fires, and brought water to drink from a spring nearby; the girls swept the floors. But the teacher, in young Sawney's opinion, was perfect: "When she saw her pupils were tired, she could tell a beautiful story, or read a beautiful poem, and I never saw a little boy leave her school that did not have a love of good poetry and good English . . . though Uncle Remus had not been published, we knew all about Brer Rabbit and the Tar Baby."<sup>4</sup>

It was ideal for a young boy, though perhaps better in reminiscence than in actuality. But the scope of teacher and of school was definitely limited, and his mother felt that a growing boy needed the supervision and the training that only men could give.

In 1856, when he was fourteen years old, Sawney entered the Bingham School in his home town of Oaks. It was an excellent preparatory school and, for that day, expensive. Mr. Bingham would accept no paper money, though in his neighborhood wild-

<sup>3</sup> Relatively little has ever been published about William R. Webb. He is mentioned in state histories and histories of Southern education, but he has been, in general, undeservedly neglected. One article by Randolph Elliott, "Old Sawney's," appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Aug., 1920. William Robert Webb, Jr., has prepared an article, as yet unpublished, entitled "My Father and His Ideals of Education." Mr. Webb of Bell Buckle, Tennessee, and now Principal of Webb School, has in typescript seven volumes of speeches delivered by his father to the students of Webb School, and manuscript copies of two speeches which Sawney Webb made at Peabody College, Jan. 29-30, 1923. He also possesses a large file of newspaper clippings and similar items of information that otherwise would be almost unobtainable.

<sup>4</sup> Webb, W. R., speech before Peabody Graduate Club, Jan. 29, 1923. Manuscript copy in possession of W. R. Webb, Jr., of Bell Buckle, Tennessee.

cat banking flourished; on the first day he required seventy-five dollars in gold as payment of tuition for five months. Bingham's was old, even then, as American schools go. Robert Bingham had graduated from the University of North Carolina that year and had returned to aid his father with the school. Robert was young, strict, and scholarly, yet with a dynamic energy and a readiness to engage in boyish games that made him the idol of the students. He was admired by town people, and particularly by young girls; in that day the teacher was considered a successful and admirable person, and one to be both imitated and envied.

Perhaps young Sawney was even more impressed with bearded old W. J. Bingham. That gentleman taught Latin, and Sawney told his own "boys" later that "I have been there months at a time and not heard a single boy miss declining a word. I was a little kid, one of the smallest in the class, and I would watch the old man sitting back and smiling like he was eating peaches or Georgia watermelons. I never heard him stand and lecture boys. His theory was that the boy knew. When a boy ever missed declining a word, he thrashed him. He warmed him up, I tell you. He wasn't mad. He thrashed a boy, all the time looking nice and sweet like he was doing the nicest job he ever did in his life. . . . That's the only school I ever saw when thirty or forty boys, in a log cabin, knew their lessons every day—never missed."<sup>5</sup>

For four years Sawney studied Greek, Latin, Mathematics, and English. No other courses were given; no others, men felt, were needed.

In the fall of 1860, Webb entered the University of North Carolina. He liked the school and the scholarly atmosphere of Chapel Hill, and he liked even more his Professor of Mathematics, Dr. Charles Phillips. The University seemed large, with 376 students, and it had a new dormitory for men, though most of its buildings, even then, were "hallowed with age." President Swain was economical: each student had to provide candles for his room and wood for his fire. Usually the students would take turns in this, but once two students could not agree as to whose

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

turn came next. Somehow the word "liar" passed between them. A duel followed. One boy was killed. Sawney Webb had no direct connection with the affair of honor, then, as a custom, almost passé in the South; but it made a lasting impression. He would tell this story with approval on rare occasions to drive home points to his own students; more frequently he would refer to that "field of dishonor" when he talked of the sanctity of human life.<sup>6</sup>

But the University, like the South, was troubled and unquiet. Men talked more often of the results of Lincoln's election than of Latin, religion, or love. Classwork went forward uncertainly; the present seemed too all-engrossing for either future or past to matter very much. Sawney tried to keep his mind free of these troublous doubts. His own people, and he with them, believed in the Union.

When the holidays were past, he found that a few students from Georgia and South Carolina had not returned. Rapidly the states seceded, until on February 4 a congress of delegates met at Montgomery, Alabama, and elected Jefferson Davis president of the newly organized Confederate States of America. The students, the entire South, were on fire with excitement. Each night, it seemed, he must say tense farewells with some new-found friend or acquaintance, departing to join his state's military forces. Yet he continued to hope; years later, he wrote of his thoughts in the spring of 1861: "I didn't believe it was justifiable. For my life, I can't see that, if Mr. Lincoln had met Mr. Davis as Davis requested and gone over their troubles with commissioners from both sides, they couldn't have come to a peaceful settlement. . . . I never had been a secessionist. I had read about them. All my neighbors and kinfolks were for the Union. But Mr. Lincoln said: 'I want 75,000 troops' in response to Mr. Davis's request for peace. 'Here, you—Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia—must furnish your part of the troops to subdue the South.' We were the South. All my college mates were hurried out to battle, and there was something wrong when the college boys met on the fields of Nashville and Chattanooga."<sup>7</sup>

Sawney Webb hurried out, in company with his mates. A few

<sup>6</sup> Webb, W. R., speech before Webb School assembly.

<sup>7</sup> Speech before Webb School students. Manuscripts in possession of W. R. Webb, Jr.

days before Sumter was fired upon, late in April, he too said brief good-byes and departed to join the "Alamance Boys" in Company H of the 15th North Carolina Volunteers. Before the company departed for Virginia, Mr. Thomas Ruffin gave a barbecue—and made a vigorous speech. Sawney enjoyed most of the occasion, but of one feature he disapproved completely: liquor was consumed freely, to an extent that some of his friends must be carried or helped back to the camp. A few days later, when he was elected supply sergeant of the company, he remembered that dinner. It had crystallized in his mind an earlier conviction, that any alcoholic drink was, in its very nature, evil. Almost his first act was to refuse to supply liquor with meals. His comrades protested, but Sawney was adamant. Finally the officers effected a compromise by appointing another man to distribute liquors.

The Alamance Boys had expected to fight; they found instead that their chief occupation, for twelve long months, was to dig. Sawney once told his students, humorously, that he had wielded pick and spade all over Northern Virginia. Soon enough the time for fighting came. For seven days the battle continued. On the final day, at Malvern Hill, on July 1, 1862, the company was pushed into the front line. In the earlier battles they had suffered comparatively little, but Malvern Hill took a deadly toll: by nightfall, 70 per cent of the company had been killed or wounded. Sawney Webb had been shot three times, and one wound by a minnie-ball through the shoulder continued to trouble him intermittently all his life. Although he lacked four months of being twenty years of age, he was elected next day first lieutenant of his company. But he could not hold the office. For brief intervals he would return to active campaigning, that summer and fall, but his wounds refused to heal satisfactorily. He returned home to recuperate and to help with the lighter tasks of farming.

In the fall of 1863 he reëntered the University of North Carolina. Only sixty-three students remained, and of these almost half had seen service and were temporarily unfit for campaigning. Eleven men, nine too old to fight and two who had returned with ruined constitutions, made up the faculty. But the school had steadily refused to close. And at Chapel Hill there was Dr.

Charles Phillips, "a university in himself"; and there was also a military unit that Lieutenant Webb could assist in military drill and tactics. For a few months he returned to his study of Latin and Greek and mathematics; one dreary night he took down and read Cicero's essay "On Friendship." Almost it seemed too much that men should be in preparation for battle, when such noble sentences *proved* the essential kinship of men. But reflection could aid him or any man very little at that time; the "weather-vane" in his shoulder, which throbbed heavily in damp weather, was constant reminder that he had spilled his blood on a hard-fought battlefield.

Soon, he knew, he must risk that chance again. Early in 1864 the South prepared for a last desperate thrust which *must* gain independence, and every man was needed. Even the "seed crop," as Jefferson Davis called the young men, must be thrown to the wind. Sawney could no longer march and dig and fight with the infantry, but at least he could fight, . . . and he rejoined the army in Virginia as adjutant of Company K, 2d North Carolina Cavalry. As one of Jeb Stuart's men, he took part in almost every notable battle during the Virginia and Petersburg campaigns, as well as countless cavalry skirmishes, and at Namozine Church he commanded the right wing of his regiment. It was his last fight. Three days before Appomattox, Sawney Webb was captured. When General Lee surrendered, he was en route to prison in New York.

Temporarily these last prisoners were placed at Battery Park. One day Sawney and a companion waded out into the ocean, and to the dismay of the sentinel suddenly dived around the end of the parapet which projected into the water. They escaped safely, then separated. All day young Webb wandered around the city. When curious men or soldiers asked what he was doing in New York City, he would reply calmly that he was an escaped Confederate prisoner from the Battery. No man could believe such a tale; he was derisively laughed at and unmolested.

Sightseeing palled on him. Peace, he knew, was near at hand, and he would be put in irons if captured, and perhaps imprisoned permanently. He decided to return to the Battery. At the entrance were several fruit stands, and behind one of these the

sentry must march. As he passed this point Sawney stepped over the line; when the sentry returned, the uniformed Confederate asked permission to buy some fruit. Indignantly the sentry pushed him back, with a profane command to get to his quarters, since the hour of freedom was past. The escaped prisoner returned voluntarily to his bunk and his absence was unnoticed.<sup>8</sup>

A few days later all the Confederates were offered their freedom if they would take the oath of allegiance. When Sawney refused, with most of his fellows, he was removed to Hart's Island; but after the surrender of General Kirby-Smith, in July of 1865, he was released. Sick in body and in spirit, he returned to his mother's home at Oaks, North Carolina.

The section to which he returned was sorely stricken. Four years of war, of enemy occupation, and of inflationary prices had ruined almost every family. Once Sawney had planned to be a lawyer; but now four years of his life had gone, and his younger brother John was ready for college. He felt old. A veteran of twenty-three must look after his younger brothers and sisters. Yet there was pitifully little that he could do. He could farm a little; but his neighbors were all doing that, since they possessed no money to spend on food. His old teacher, now Colonel Robert Bingham, could provide a small amount of teaching for him to do; but the Binghames were themselves all teachers, and the school, though it had many prospective students, made little money.

Dr. Charles Phillips remembered the boy who had studied at irregular intervals under him, between campaigns, and who had once seemed so promising. In the summer of 1866 he helped Sawney to secure a position as teacher in the Horner School at Oxford, North Carolina; and he insisted that the young man complete his college work. Chiefly through Phillips' insistence, the University of North Carolina had made arrangements for its students, who had served as Confederate soldiers and who could not possibly return to do the necessary residence work, to complete the course by a liberal system of correspondence work and special examinations. In 1867 Webb received the degree of

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<sup>8</sup> Clarke, Ida M., "Sawney Webb," *Nashville Banner*, June 6, 1912.

Bachelor of Arts; in the following year that of Master of Arts, although he was never after the war officially a student in residence at the University.<sup>9</sup>

Later, he said that he had been "shot into the schoolroom." It was his niche in life. For four years he taught mathematics and Latin and Greek, to find amazingly that he enjoyed teaching and enjoyed working with boys. Already his character was fully developed. Horner's school was Episcopal and gave dances and card parties. As a strict Methodist, Webb did not believe in, or at least did not indulge in, such worldly amusements. As teacher, however, it was proper and right for him to be present. He attended all these entertainments without participating in them, yet without making the boys feel that he was priggish, or the local Methodist minister feel that he was less devout.

But teaching in another man's school was not entirely satisfactory. And local conditions were even less pleasing. He resigned in 1870 and set out for Tennessee, which under Governor Senter was the quietest and least troubled of the Southern States. "My reason for leaving North Carolina was the unsatisfactory political condition of the State. The carpetbaggers and native thieves, with the help of the Negroes, dominated and controlled the entire State of North Carolina. I had had four years of war and five years of reconstruction taken right out of the heart of my young life."<sup>10</sup> He had figured out that the one thing for which Southern people would always spend money was education, and he was more than reconciled to life in the schoolroom.

It seemed at first that Tennessee had no need for him. Teachers of a sort were plentiful and the cities and larger towns were invariably well supplied, in most cases with genteel but impoverished ladies, or with ex-soldiers broken in body and glad of any chance to make a respectable living.

Finally he located a school in the village of Culleoka, in Middle Tennessee, where the trustees, though fearful of his youthful appearance, were willing to give him a trial, after he had successfully passed an impromptu examination in mathematics. He could establish a private institution, Webb School, and they would support him with local students.

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<sup>9</sup> *Alumni History of University of North Carolina*, p. 654.

<sup>10</sup> Speech before general assembly of Peabody College, Jan. 30, 1923.

Webb had definite ideas of the type of school that he wanted: to prepare boys for college. When he announced this plan to his patrons, one man laughed derisively and remarked that "we expect to raise here only cornfield hands." It was an ambitious project, far more ambitious than it appears today. For education in the South was in chaos. In slave days the sons of rich men were privately tutored or went to schools on the seaboard, or in the East, and not rarely, in England. A few universities had been established west of the mountains; and some of these, like the University of Nashville, had attained a respectable size and had done good work. In general, these universities had succumbed during the war, and in most instances they had not been reopened by 1870. When Webb began, he could find "no institution of higher learning west of the mountains. Every college, so-called, took all ages from ten-year kids up. There were no public schools in the State to speak of; there were private schools, but as far as I could find out, there wasn't a single, solitary school that confined itself strictly to preparatory training, when I undertook the idea then. The schools that were in existence published a curriculum that would make the modern college curriculum look like thirty cents, for they had everything that anybody wanted, including navigation, . . . but they had just a small faculty. On one occasion at a teachers' institute I talked in favor of a school strictly preparatory for college, and one old gentleman said he was very much interested in it, and would be glad to receive some of my students in his college. I said, 'My friend, where is your college?' 'Beech Grove.' 'How many members are there in your faculty?' And he answered me, 'Well, uh—one.' He had a college and he was the only member of its faculty."<sup>11</sup>

Webb's beginning was modest enough. His schoolroom was the basement of a church, damp and gloomy, with green moss growing on the dirt walls, so that after a rain "we swept it with a spade." The building had no sanitary conveniences; and it remained persistently cold, in spite of roaring fires. The library contained exactly fifty dollars worth of books, purchased by Webb. His students were as poorly equipped intellectually as his buildings were physically. The students were at first insubordi-

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

nate and had to be quelled by corporal force; they were accustomed to reading the Latin without regard to the quantity of the vowels, and the teacher the year before had read the translation back to them.

It was slow, discouraging work, but the young teacher met, in addition, the disapproval of the parents. In opening the school, he announced that students could go in and out as they pleased, when not reciting, and might study out-of-doors if they preferred, so long as they kept up in their work and did not create too much confusion within the room. Soon the patrons met and demanded a stricter discipline, but Webb refused and offered to resign, saying that "before I would imprison innocent children, I would quit the profession of teaching; I would rather make my living plowing on a steep, rocky hillside with a blind mule." His resignation was not accepted, and he continued through the years his outdoor type of education.

Somehow the school progressed and secured additional pupils, largely through the efforts of Sawney's good Methodist friend, Bishop Payne.

The year 1873 was a big one for him. That April he married Emma Clary, once his younger sister's roommate at college. That year also his brother John, "the greatest scholar I have ever seen," Sawney often said, joined him in the school. Now he was more content with life. Few people anywhere, he had come to believe, think as teachers think; they were interested in the tangible matters of life, in the price of bullocks and lands and crops, in the weather, and in local personalities. Such conversation was pleasant enough in its way, but it was not sufficient and he had spent many lonely days in Culleoka, until he was driven for recreation to working the most difficult problems in mathematical journals. By such work he could occasionally be of impressive aid to his less tutored neighbors, and could gain a reputation for scholarship; but he could not be satisfied as a person. Now all that was changed. He felt himself a man of position and of family and he had a trusted brother to help him with his school.

But his school that fall threatened to disintegrate—1873 was a cholera year. Panic had seized the South until men would

scarcely venture out-of-doors. In Nashville that fall Sawney and his young wife walked ten blocks without seeing a human being on the street; in Culleoka, with a population of two hundred, he saw eighteen people die within a month. He helped to nurse the sick and somehow he escaped the disease, but his school was postponed of necessity until January. Then his boarders returned in greater numbers than ever before, and the two brothers returned to work. The character of his school had changed; it was predominantly a boarding school, with only a sprinkling of local boys.<sup>12</sup>

He had outgrown the church basement. A new schoolhouse costing about \$1,500 was built on six acres of ground. To build, it was necessary to borrow money at 10 per cent. This led to one of the most dramatic incidents in his career: one day he owed a thousand dollars, and he had no money. "I was out in the garden hoeing beans when a Chinaman whom I was educating to be a missionary to his own people came in great excitement and said there was an Indian chief and a tribe of Indians at my gate. Chief McCurtin of the Choctaws was there with twenty-three boys. I feared the social effects of having such a large percentage of my students Indians, and so I made arrangements with Mr. McCurtin to take eight—enough to fill one boarding-house. He paid me \$250 in greenbacks for each Indian, making two thousand dollars, the largest sum of money I had ever received at one time. So after dinner I called for my thousand-dollar note and handed over the greenbacks as if it were a matter of no moment."<sup>13</sup> Often when he wanted to point the moral of courtesy to his students, he would tell this tale, and explain that McCurtin brought the boys to him because once in Louisville Sawney had gone out of his way to take a stranger to his destination.

It was his last financial hurdle. The years flowed peacefully by, bringing always more students, and bringing to Sawney personally, in the course of time, eight children. There was only one matter to vex him, but that tried him sorely: liquor. He had fought it in the army, but to no avail; now it threatened to undo all that he could do in the schoolroom. Merchants *would* sell

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<sup>12</sup> Speech before general assembly of Peabody College, Jan. 30, 1923.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

beer and whisky to his students, try as he might to prevent it; and at last his patience gave way. He precipitated a local fight on the question, but lost; and that year of 1886 he moved his school to the little town of Bell Buckle, where local option prevailed.

He had only to move in the physical sense. For Webb School had become, even then, a *traditional* institution; and its students followed Old Sawney.

And he was no longer penniless. He had \$12,000, enough to put up a fine building or two; certainly enough, in the Tennessee of 1886, to make a fine display. But Sawney Webb was not a typical American, given to the doctrine that a good "front" is the first essential of success. He valued homelier and less obvious virtues; and he thought that buildings were for use, that they were only *a part of the tools* of a good institution. Far less valuable as display, but in his estimation far more essential, were books. So he spent \$2,200 upon sturdy wooden buildings; he spent \$400 for a library building, but in it he put \$8,000 worth of books, carefully and painstakingly selected by the two brothers.

There was never any question of the school's success. The educational team of "Sawney and Johnny" continued to thrive mightily. Although new teachers were added from time to time, John Webb taught the seniors entirely, and he gave life to languages often spoken of as dead; Sawney Webb taught various classes, mostly mathematics, but he was primarily an administrator. For forty years he remained in the tiny village of Bell Buckle, teaching boys of the 'teen age. In that period he produced no scholarly books; except for a few relatively unimportant side-excursions into politics, he did nothing except to run a preparatory school for boys. It seems a quiet, humdrum way of life that would never present much opportunity for positive achievement; yet Sawney Webb was known throughout the land, and Webb School was father, or older brother, of many scattered and lesser known institutions.

### III

Personality contributed in large degree to Sawney's prestige. He looked distinguished and picturesque, with his short, stocky body and his heavy gray-bearded head. Each Sunday afternoon,

and on many mornings supposed to be given to class work, he spoke to his boys. The speeches were inspirational, exhortatory, often impromptu; but they were alive. He would stand before them, with his narrow black string tie under his left ear, and the third buttonhole of his black coat attached to the second button, and talk on every subject known to man: the biographies of great men, the announcements of new scientific discoveries, school events, current happenings, and the Civil War. But above all he delved into his own memory for stories of great men and great days. Somehow he could catch up an audience of boys and hold it with wit, humor, and the dramatic flair of a born *raconteur*; and he made each story carry the principles of clean living and of great deeds. After boys had grown into men, they spread the stories of Sawney Webb, until his maxims and his personality were known and felt in regions far from Bell Buckle.<sup>14</sup>

He made of teaching a drama in miniature. Not only were his speeches calculated to awaken interest and ambition in his students; but his method of teaching competitively, so that each student sought daily to lead the class, kept the scholastic air electric with excitement. Equally dramatic were his punishments, when the calm, sad-voiced Sawney would tell some youngster, "You have been on that problem two days; if you do not have it tomorrow, I shall have to whip you"; or the actual though infrequent whippings that did at times become necessary (for he had the greatest contempt for what he called the "moral suasion" theory of pedagogy); or best of all, when he could invent some punishment worthy of the *Mikado* to fit some unusual crime, as when he made one boy who had run off to go fishing try his luck for hours with rod and hook in a rain barrel. Legend tells of a "classical cow" which kicked violently when a small boy, stationed immediately behind it, missed a Latin verb or Greek noun, in the sessions held for refractory students after school was over; and not until years later did it become generally known that a canny master had taught the cow to kick when he milked with only one hand. Such stories grew and multiplied with the years, until the body of authentic and fictitious legend surrounding Sawney Webb was in truth something to conjure with. Yet

<sup>14</sup> Elliott, Randolph, "Old Sawney's" in *Atlantic Monthly*, Aug., 1920, 233-235.

what boy, or what group of men, on seeing and hearing him, could doubt that these stories were true?

With the skill of the born teacher, he used every device available to hold the attention of students. But these devices were only the trimmings, the outward apparel that attracted most attention because most obvious. Inevitably, there was a deeper, sounder reason for the success of Webb School, and for Webb's own popularity and influence.

He was a master of the essential theories and practices of education. That alone may sound easy and simple, but such mastery is given to few men. Sawney's school had one purpose, and only one: to give a boy the mental training and discipline which comes from a reasonable and fairly exact mastery of the humanistic subjects, specifically Greek, Latin, English, and mathematics. With such mastery must come also development of character, an evolution not merely of boy into man, but of boy into gentleman, in the old and best sense of that word; but even this development was by its very nature incidental. A boy could be encouraged to build and strengthen character, but no man could build it for him. The primary purpose of education was to infuse in boys a love for learning, to permeate their lives as well as their minds with the nobility and grandeur of classic literatures.

Perhaps some idea of his intention can be given from his conception of mathematics in a school. For him, it was neither an abstract science nor a business convenience; it was an art which through its severity of form approached nearest to perfect beauty. Yet small boys struggling with algebraic formulæ could not be expected to grasp this severe beauty; they must first learn the subject, by force and corporal punishment if necessary. This was a last resort; before that, the teacher must put all his skill and knowledge, all his dramatic individuality, to the effort of kindling young animal minds into realization that here was indeed some dim but attractive art that might some day be appreciated in its entirety. Under his hand the subject and the class were both alive.

That idea of knowledge he carried into other fields. To arouse intellectual interest and curiosity, to mold character, to infuse ambition—these were the purposes of his general talks. They

were *applied* education. They gave an immediate, practical, and yet a philosophical point to the minute drudgery of day-to-day work. And he carried his precepts into practice: for example, his constant admonition "never do anything on the sly" (which later became famous as "the only *Don't* in his gospel of *Do*") was reinforced and made real by his early inauguration of the honor system.<sup>15</sup>

But he never confused this need for intellectual curiosity with the requirements of the basic curriculum in his school, or in any school. Only the tried and certain courses had a place there. Often men would tell him that their sons must have stenography or geography or even telegraphy; often in the later years, when college entrance requirements had become standardized, college presidents and governing boards would write that he must teach chemistry or physics or history and must use an English grammar. Steadily he refused, for he believed that teachers commonly undertook too much. "A man spreads very thin when he spreads himself over the whole earth. . . . When I turn out students, they at least can pass the examinations in these subjects; they know them." And it is on record that some Webb students offered for college entrance and passed the examinations in history solely on the basis of reading done in the school library. His students won honors at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Vanderbilt with such regularity that one eastern college president remarked, "The best students we get come from a small school in Tennessee known as 'Old Sawney's.'"<sup>16</sup> Because his studies were definite and in a large way related to life, the student prospered; and the school became famous.

Undoubtedly Sawney Webb would have gained recognition in almost any place, at almost any time. But the misfortunes of the South contributed to his own fortunes as teacher of a private preparatory school. When he came to Tennessee he founded a school that was peculiarly his own and highly individualized, though it served as model for many a similar school throughout the South; the standardized requirements of a later period would have hampered, though they could hardly have destroyed, the value of man and teacher. With the growth of the public school

<sup>15</sup> Nashville *Banner*, Dec. 20, 1926.

<sup>16</sup> Elliott, Randolph, *op. cit.*, 231.

system has come the inevitable decline of the private school; with the education of the millions has come a softer and more varied curriculum which trains boys for vocational work, for leadership (in the Y. M. C. A. sense of the word), and for a hundred other things. Organized extra-curricular activities which Sawney had rejected have generally become at least as important as the formal studies. But in these varied processes mental discipline has gone by the board; to a large extent the old idea of a cultured, humane gentleman as the finest product of education has gone with it. Stenography has replaced Greek, and manual training is reckoned more vital than Latin. That day Sawney Webb lived to see, but in his own school he would not permit such changes. A proud bulwark against superficial ideas of progress, Webb School remains classical and faithful to the noble conception of an older, less hurried day.

That explains another more subtle reason for his popularity. Sawney Webb was the apotheosis of a type long revered in the South, and now almost completely gone. He was the schoolmaster. Dotted over that section of the country were many other schoolmasters, less famous but no less respected locally; for almost every county had its own renowned academy or "college." These men too were individualists, and their methods of teaching seemed vicious and antiquated to the professional educators who were busily attempting to make teaching a science. They taught in many cases with a sternness that made the rod omnipresent, and that makes a softer generation shake its collective head; but at least they taught. In most cases such men knew their subjects, however little they might know methods; to them Latin and Greek and mathematics were vividly real, and students who could not be persuaded of that reality were quickly forced at least to learn the subject-matter. Only the strong survived educationally; but the survivors possessed disciplined minds and sound, if often limited, knowledge. Each man set his own standards, but good teachers could and did draw students from the public schools; and the incompetents drifted into other kinds of business. In general, they were colorful men, and they shaped the thoughts and lives of many of their students. Of this type Sawney Webb was preëminent, but men in other sections could

understand and admire him the more because he was only a greater personification of a well-beloved local person.

#### IV

There are only a few additional facts to record. Webb's niche in life, as he himself said, was the schoolroom; and he stepped out of that niche rarely. But a man's business was also with life, and sometimes the progress of events seemed to call for more direct and immediate action than teaching permitted. On such occasions Sawney Webb became a political orator, stumping the State for principles that he believed to be just. When the State seemed likely to repudiate its debts, he took an active part, advocating with all his power the payment of the debts in full. In 1886 he canvassed the State in favor of the prohibition amendment to the State Constitution; and in 1913 he became a member of the governing board of the Anti-Saloon League, a position he held until his death. Always he fought for temperance, to the point of deserting the Democratic party in order to support the dry and Republican Ben W. Hooper against Governor Malcolm R. Patterson.

Twice he received political honors. In 1896 he campaigned vigorously for sound money, at a time when William Jennings Bryan threatened to sweep an emotional nation off its feet; and he was a delegate to the old-school Democratic convention at Indianapolis which nominated Palmer and Buckner as presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Seventeen years later he was unexpectedly elected United States senator to fill the unexpired term of the late Robert Love Taylor. Webb had made no effort to secure the place, and his unanimous election came as a complete surprise. It was the last election by the State Senate; John K. Shields had already been elected by popular vote for the regular term. And Governor Hooper had previously appointed Newell Sanders to the place. When the Democratic Senate ignored the Republican Governor and his appointee, Webb succeeded Senator Sanders, although he was formally elected to succeed Taylor.

As senator, he served for a month and a day; but he enjoyed that brief interval of public life immensely. He introduced one

bill, to prohibit desecration of the flag, and made one notable speech in favor of the Webb-Kenyon bill (named for Representative E. Y. Webb of North Carolina), which prohibited the shipment of liquor into dry states. He also made a eulogistic speech on his predecessor. But, his month of service over, he returned to Bell Buckle without regret, and with no ambition to hold other political offices.<sup>17</sup>

These chores were appropriate interludes, hardly more important to him than his attendance of educational associations, and certainly no more important than thrice serving as member of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He valued such honors as they deserved to be valued, yet always mindful that they were incidental; and he was equally proud of the honorary LL.D. degrees which Erskine College conferred on him in 1919, and the University of North Carolina in 1922. It seemed to him that being a good schoolmaster implied also being a good citizen and a good churchman, but a man was naturally gratified when such qualities were recognized by other people.

His son, William Robert, Junior, joined him in the school in 1897, after his graduation from the University of North Carolina. Gradually Sawney gave up teaching, until he became in fact as well as in name the headmaster; after 1908 he had little to do with the routine conduct of the school. But he continued to make speeches to the students, and he was also in great demand as a speaker in other localities. For his many lectures on temperance he received, he once said, only a pocketknife as payment; but he had never learned to value money as the sole recompense for his services, and he spoke as readily and with as much enthusiasm in the smallest hamlet as in Nashville or Chattanooga. Many times his name was suggested for some political office, but Sawney steadily refused every inducement.

The years rolled peacefully on. Only the death of his brother John brought great sadness to him. The children were a constant source of comfort: all of them were prospering moderately, as he would have wished, and several of them in Tennessee and California were carrying on his ideas of education. He was fairly content with life. And Sawney Webb had become a tradition

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<sup>17</sup> *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress*, p. 1677.

in the State, and in less degree throughout the South. He was the schoolmaster of Tennessee and recognized as the State's "first citizen."<sup>18</sup>

Death ended that contentment on December 20, 1926, after a brief illness. He was eighty-four, a good Christian; and he was not afraid to die. A few days before his death he dictated to his son Will a final message to all "his boys," and that farewell expressed tersely and characteristically his philosophy of life: "Give the boys my love, and tell them to lead a large life. A large life is no piffle, but one that makes the world better because you have lived. If the world is better because of you, you are a wonderful success. If it is worse because of you, you are a miserable failure. When you come to the end, you'll find that the only things that are worth while are character and the help you have given to other people. The first step in the development of character is loyalty and obedience to your parents, your teachers, and your God. And don't forget—never do anything that you have to hide."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Nashville *Banner*, Dec. 20, 1926.

<sup>19</sup> Nashville *Banner*, Dec. 20, 1926. Manuscript of message in possession of W. R. Webb, Jr.

## UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINIANS TO JEFFERSON

Edited by ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

The Thomas Jefferson manuscripts in the Library of Congress include, in addition to diaries, note books, account books, and journals, 236 volumes of correspondence (c. 40,000 pieces). In 1848 the government bought the main collection from his estate. There is a calendar of three volumes published by the State Department, Bureau of Rolls and Library (1894-1903), which covers only about seven-eighths of the entire collection because there have been other accessions since the papers were transferred to the Library of Congress by Executive Order of March 9, 1903. The manuscripts contain data pertaining to almost every phase of Jefferson's life—the management of his farm, his law practice, his interest in science, art, literature, separation of church and state, freedom of press, and education, particularly his connection with the University of Virginia, as well as his political and state papers. There are letters written while he was in Europe. His chief correspondence was with the Continental Congress, the United States Congress, George Washington, John Jay, Robert R. Livingston, James Madison, James Monroe, Lafayette, Henry Dearborn, Albert Gallatin, William Carmichael, William Short, and John Adams. Jefferson also had considerable correspondence with Benjamin Hawkins, Nathaniel Macon, John Steele, the governors of North Carolina, and other North Carolinians, which throw a great deal of light on important state and national policies and domestic affairs.

The editor has endeavored to make a careful reproduction of the unpublished letters from resident North Carolinians.

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS<sup>1</sup>

Dear Sir,

New York the 14<sup>th</sup> of June 1786

The queres you gave me I have put into the best possible train to be answered considering the class of people from whom that kind of in-

<sup>1</sup> Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. Since the letters selected are A. L. S. or press copies found in the Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress, no reference will be made to the source of the letters except in the case of press copies. Benjamin Hawkins was a member of the Continental Congress, 1781-1784, 1786-1787. He drew the six-year term in 1790 to

formation is to be obtained, and I expect returns will be made to me this summer.—

The languages I was particularly attentive to during my residence at the Treaties and among some of the Tribes, and I shall send you a vocabulary of the Cherokee & Choctaw languages extended only to the most common objects in nature — Between those two there is not the least affinity The latter and the Chickasaws is radically the same, and they converse with ease together without the intervention of interpreters.

All the interpreters I saw being unacquainted with the principles of grammar made it difficult to comprehend the variation of the names & words, their agreement & concord, in so much, that although you in conversing on the most common subjects may know the appellations distinctly, yet in connecting them either from some peculiar jesture or manner of pronunciation it is very difficult to comprehend the agreement.—

Alexander McGilivray a half breed one of the Chiefs of the Creeks who is a man of good sense, well versed in our language and customs, will be particular in his information respecting his nation as his large possessions in the heart of his country, will afford him leisure to attend to the queries, and his taste for natural history with a good library which he has collected will make that attention, amusement for him

You will see by the Treaties which I enclose how attentive I have been to the rights of these people; and I can assure you there is nothing I have more at heart than the preservation of them. It is a melancholy reflection that the rulers of America in rendering an account to Heaven of the aborigines thereof, will have lost every thing but the name The interposition of Congress without the co-operation of the southern States is ineffectual, and Georgia & North Carolina have refused by protesting against their authority. The former will not allow that the Indians can be viewed in any other light than as members thereof, and the latter allows a right of regulating Trade only without the fixing any boundary between the Indians & citizens, as they claim all the Land westward according to their bill of rights and that the Indians are only tenants at will.

There are five tribes only in the Southern States who live in a state of Independence and among them have been incorporated the remains of five of the Natchez, Enches and some others with them who exist now only in name—Those who make more of them do it from imperfect information any give the names of the settlements of the Tribes as different

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represent North Carolina in the United States Senate. In 1785, he was appointed commissioner to treat with the Cherokee and other Southern Indians. The following year he negotiated treaties with the Choctaws and Chickasaws. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 413-414.

Tribes — The gun men of Tribes are thus estimated by the Commissioners<sup>2</sup> of the southern Indian affairs.

Cherokee	2,000
Chickasaws	800 including some Natchez &c.
Choctaws	6,000
Creeks	5,500
<hr/>	
	14,300

The Catawba are members of the State of South Carolina and are about 60.

The Commissioners farther reported that the old men unfit for hunting & the women & children may be four times that number

The Cherokees Chickasaws & Creeks have large stocks of Cattle and depend on them for their subsistence The Choctaws are less provident and suffer much in consequence of it.

I have the honour to be with sincere esteem & regard

Dear Sir,  
your most obedient  
Humble Servant

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS

New York 8th March 1787

Dear Sir

I have had within a few days the pleasure to receive your favor of the 13<sup>th</sup> august. It was received at the office of Foreign affairs in Nov<sup>r</sup>. and has been traveling since southwardly and northwardly to meet with me. I have been attentive to your other request, and expect I shall be able to send you a few plants of the *Dionaea muscipula*<sup>3</sup> some time this Spring; Mr. de la Forest<sup>4</sup> who returns to France promises to take charge of them: And a very attentive worthy man is to send me a dozen or more from Wilmington in small earthen pots. I will also send you some of the seed as soon as it is practicable. I shall send you by Mr. de la Forest the little vocabulary of the Cherokee & Choctaw tongues: and such other information as I may receive, I have a letter from Mr. McGilivray which gives room to hope by that period he will have answered fully the part I allotted to him.

We are not here in so profound a calm, as in Europe. The uneasiness which have existed in Massachuset[t]s for some time past

<sup>2</sup> On March 21, 1785, the Continental Congress appointed Benjamin Hawkins, Daniel Carroll, and William Peery, commissioners to treat with the Cherokee and other Southern Indians. Fitzpatrick, John C., ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXVIII, 183.

<sup>3</sup> This plant is commonly known as the Venus's Fly Trap, which is a native of the sandy savannas of the eastern part of North Carolina. Gray, Asa, *Lessons in Botany and Vegetable Physiology*, 83.

<sup>4</sup> Antoine de la Forest was appointed vice consul of France to the United States on June 22, 1785. Fitzpatrick, *The Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXX, 13.

grew into a serious opposition to that Government, and they are now by the vigorous though not timely opposition of the government but in train of adjustment. The Southern States are more tranquil and are emerging fast into order: and if the Federal Government can be made efficient the resolution will be a blessing to them. Virginia taking lead for this most desirable object proposed a convention to be held in May next at Philadelphia, North Carolina and some other states have followed her example and Congress on the 21<sup>st</sup> of February recommended *it* to all as the most probable mean[s] of establishing a firm national Government.

Spain availing herself of probable conjectures bids far to be the first power who will strengthen our bonds of union and unmindful of her true interest, she seems determined to oppose her partial contented policy, to that generous reciprocity of mutual good offices, which, being the basis of our friendship would be a never failing guarantee to both nations. She has seized some of our boats on the Mississipp[p]i and refuses us absolutely the navigation thereof. Our citizens view this as an imposition of their rights: The States of Virginia, North Carolina New Jersey and some others have expressed in strong terms. The words of North Carolina are "That their delegates be instructed to oppose in the most unequivocal terms any attempt that may be made to barter or surrender to any Nation the right of this State to the free and common navigation of the Mississipp[p]i, and in case any such surrender should take place, that they should be instructed to protest the same, as an unjust depravation of the right of this State, and one which Congress are not authorized to make by the articles of confederation."

[seven states]<sup>5</sup>

This arose from this additional circumstance 1098. 174.7 only  
[count ing from the east have rep eal ed the art ic le in  
1173. 607. 252. 812. 394. 216. 597.861.1359. 812. 989.771.1406. 149.  
favor of the Mississippi in the in struction s to] [J ay  
396. 1352. 812. 52. 149. 812. 149. 608. 918.7 770. Mr. 145.566.  
and he] [sh ut up or not the Mississippi]  
673. 182. is now at full liberty to 242.1270 1295. 324. 549. 812 52.

[per i od of twenty

and he appears to me to approve of it for the 576.145.1060. 1352. 886.  
year s]

1572.7.—Should this take place, I know not what consequences may ensue. Our western citizens feel much alarmed for their situation. They

[confide n ce in the ju s ti ce of Congress]  
will have less 427. 640. 276. 149. 812. 639. 7. 507. 276. 1352. 173. and

[car ve] [them sel ve s]  
be disposed to 1069. 1058. for 412. 718. 1058. 7. They are already nu-

<sup>5</sup> The ciphers are decoded from James Madison code which he used after January 31, 1787. Ciphers: Pendleton, Madison, Livingston, Jefferson, and Randolph, Library of Congress.

merous and daily increasing. For a [vi ol ation of a  
 1013. 142. 310. 1352. 101.  
 treat y Congress would be im me di ate ly res po  
 986. 1247. 173. 1254. 1569. 406. 1214. 979. 1000. 1593. 1483. 122.  
 n si ble] [sk ir  
 640. 431. 1110. — And probably our western citizens might 1402. 1645.  
 mis h for some year s without bring ing about an ope n  
 964. 1366. 208. 473. 1572. 7. 1469. 1301. 607. 1377 157. 1332. 640.  
 rupt ur e and within eight or ten we would be able to  
 1299. 1289. 8. 673. 1578. 1329. 324. 599. 1583. 1254. 1569. 939. 770.  
 sup port our right what ever be done. You may event u ally  
 520. 1690. 266. 170. 1380. 1678. 1569. 613. 1243. 1038. 753. 824. 975.  
 be able to do something.]  
 1569. 939. 770. 1180. 473. 877. If the French court had the Floridas  
 and would establish an entrepôt at New-Orleans or some other place  
 equally convenient on a liberal scale, it would certainly be of the first  
 consequence to them, in a commercial point of view, as we should con-  
 sume their manufactures principally, in return for the raw materials  
 which we could supply them with in abundance. With Spain something  
 could be done if we had a man of a great deal of abilities and prudence  
 at Madrid there to treat; here I am sure we have nothing to hope as I  
 conjecture Mr. Gardoqui has duped himself and consequently given  
 such an impression of things here as to lead his court to be very sanguine  
 [he does not appear to me to be  
 in their expectations. — And 182. 188. 549. 579. 770. 1214. 770. 1569.  
 a man of a nob le mind enough to ac know ledge  
 101. 443. 1352. 101. 317. 1406. 1349. 1351. 770. 1700. 1689. 260.  
 further er ro r]  
 1108 1645. 168. 1185. and to give that true complexion which he has  
 certainly learnt to discover.

I have used the cypher of our friend Mr. Madison, He, capturing  
 shortly an opportunity more certain than the present; postpones writ-  
 ing until then, and he presents you his most respectful compliments.  
 Your acquaintance Mr. Nash<sup>6</sup> is dead and I am in Congress in his  
 stead.

I am with sincere esteem &  
 regards & Friendship  
 Dear Sir

your most obedient  
 &  
 Hble Servt.

<sup>6</sup> Abner Nash died December 5, 1786, while he was in New York to attend Congress, and was buried at St. Paul's churchyard. Later he was removed to "Pembroke," near New Bern. Ashe, S. A., ed., *Biographical History of North Carolina*, Vol. 1, 403-404.

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS

New York the 9th June 1787

Dear Sir,

By the june Packet I have the happiness of complying in a great measure with my promise of the eighth of March.—Finding that I had lost most of my plants through the inattention or ignorance of the Captain who had the care of them from North Carolina although I made repeated trials and the last with giving particular directions on the proper method of treating them: And fearing that similar inattention might prevent your receiving them. I have taken the liberty of addressing the whole to M. Le comte de Buffon intendant du Jardin du Roi au Jardin du Roi a Paris: And in return for this liberty I have requested the favor of the Comte to divide the plants equally between you and himself

Mr. de la Forest do[*e*]s not go to France as I expected but he, nevertheless, interests himself in the safety of the plants and has written to Monsieur de Mistral commissaire general de la Marine an ordonnateur au Havre to forward with great care the box and four earthen pots in which they are contained. As soon as I can procure any of the seeds I will send them as you have directed. The largest of the pots and the broken one is filled with the native soil. In the box and the other pots I laid a clay foundation, not having a sufficiency of the Native soil to fill them. You know I believe that they grow low down in North Carolina where the soil is generally moist.

I expected to have had the pleasure of communicating to you the part of the information on Indian Queres which I had allotted to Mr. McGillivray but my letters are not yet come to hand, Tho' I have reason to believe that he wrot[*e*] to me some time in march by our Superintendent of Indian<sup>7</sup> affairs and as he is on his way hither probably I shall get them within this month.

Our friend Colonel Carrington<sup>8</sup> promises me to give you a long narrative of our Politics and therefore it would be superfluous if not presumptuous in me to do it, I will only add that every citizen of the United States is looking up with eager anxious hopes to the convention for an efficient Government. That the proceedings of the Convention are under such an injunction of Secrecy as that confidential communications are inconsistent with the rules established as necessary to preserve the fullest freedom of discussion and to prevent misconceptions and mis-constructions without doors.

Adieu Dear Sir, and believe me sincerely and truly your faithful friend and

Most obedient humble Serv

Enclosed is a duplicate of the letter to the Count.

<sup>7</sup> On October 6, 1786, James White of North Carolina was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southern Department. Fitzpatrick, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXXI, 747.

<sup>8</sup> Edward Carrington was a member of the Continental Congress from Virginia.

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS<sup>9</sup>Mrs. Houser friday 18<sup>th</sup>. Feby. 1791.

Dear Sir,

I am very desirous of obtaining your opinion on the constitutionality of the Treaties formed with the Indians at Hopewell on the Keowee

If I recollect right, you informed me you had yours in writing some time last summer.—If the request be not an improper one, and you have reserved a copy, you will oblige me by a gratification of my desire. I do not mean to ask the liberty of using your name with it.

I have the honor to be very sincerely

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient  
&  
Hum Servant

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS

Mrs. Houser 3. of January 1792

[Sir:]

I send you herewith the notes I informed you I had taken of the [recent?] debate in the Senate. When you have read them I request that they may be returned; yet, if you judge proper you may previously show them to the President.

I have paid on my part that attention to the subject in question that its importance deserves, without being able to form an opinion perfectly satisfactory to myself the result of my reflections, however, are, That if the Senate are not previously informed of the reasons which induce the President to nominate ministers to foreign Courts, they may be involved in inconsistency, in as much as having once assented, they are bound to assent als[o] to the means of supporting them.—To say they have a negative on the supplies, is saying that they would on to day advise and consent to an appointment, and and tomorrow annul it by with holding supplies.—The right contended for as exclusively in the President, being questionable It would seem proper, that the Senate should be informed of and acquiescent in the measure, as well as the man, and they are bound to contribute their aid for the supplies.—But suppose the right conceded to the President, of determining the courts *where* and the grade of the minister, then, what is proper for the Senate to do, on their part to remedy the inconsistency before alluded to? simply to cheq all nominations with a proviso that they will be no longer

<sup>9</sup> Benjamin Hawkins served in the United States Senate, 1790 to June 1, 1796. *Manual of North Carolina 1913*, pp. 99-993.

pledged for the supplies than the expediency of the measure in their estimation may justify thereby reserving to themselves the right to examine into the expediency at every appropriation.

With great and sincere regard I have the honor to be

My dear Sir

your most obedient servant

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS

Senate Chamber 26 march 1792

[Sir:]

I have sent the messenger of the Senate to you for 1<sup>st</sup> Vol of Ramseys history of S. Carolina I shall return it tomorrow.

I had a conversation with Genl Dickinson,<sup>10</sup> on the subject<sup>11</sup> mentioned to you yesterday. He expects this evening to be in company with Hammond<sup>12</sup> and Bond<sup>13</sup> and he will speak very freely to them, as from himself and let me know the results to-morrow. On his present standing he expects they will as they have done, begin the conversation on their part. You know his candid mode of expressing himself and on this occasion it is extremely proper. He will ask H. or B. whether there has been an explicit declaration on the part of his Court through you to the President of their disposition to carry the Treaty into effect. And if there has not what right can he have to expect any benefit will result from his visit to this Country.<sup>14</sup>

Yours sincerely

<sup>10</sup> Philemon Dickinson was a member of the Senate from New Jersey, 1790-1793. *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 302-303.

<sup>11</sup> The subject here referred to was the evacuation of the posts in the Northwest.

<sup>12</sup> George Hammond was the first British minister to the United States.

<sup>13</sup> Phineas Bond, the British Consul, presented his credentials to John Jay, acting Secretary of State, Aug. 11, 1789. Washington Letter Book 20, pp. 30-32, Library of Congress.

<sup>14</sup> On March 26, 1792, Benjamin Hawkins reported to Jefferson as follows (Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress):

"D.[ickinson] arrived late last evening, but immediately on his entering the room H.[ammond] accosted him and began in the strain of festive night?

D. What progress have you made with J.[efferson]?

H. not much.

D. I will tell you what H[ammond] it is conjectured here that there is some defect in your power and that in consequence the result of your visit here will not be productive of any good.

H. I have full and ample power upon my honour.

D. you have! why in the name of heaven what have you been doing, why do you not make some progress in your business, why do you not evacuate the posts.

H. The loss of the merchants in Virginia have been immense, and owing to the non compliance with the treaty on your part.

D. I have heard from good authority that you have not shown the least disposition to pursue your part that you are seriously disposed to accommodate. You have heretofore asked me to be candid, and I will be so I have observed that you are shy of J.[efferson] and that you are very intimate with the S of the T[reasury]. It is known that those 2 do not work together and if your negotiations are through that quarter I have little confidence in them. I know J.[efferson] so well, that I am sure you are to blame, He I am confident is disposed to do what is proper, tho I have never heard a word from him on that subject and I take it you keep yourself at a distance from him very improperly.

H. The S. of T[reasury] is more a man of the world than J.[efferson], and I like his manners better, and can speak more freely to him. J.[efferson] is in the Virginia interest and that of the French. And it is his fault that we are at a distance, he proposes writing to conversing and thus it is that we are apart.

D. I am certain J.[efferson] is a man of such will however that he will not mingle any interest improperly in his imaginations, and you mistake him altogether, your business is with him, and you should apply to him only.—

an interruption but the conversation with this moving revived in the Consul B[ond.]"

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS

Mrs. Houser 12 of april 1792

[Sir:]

Crawford M Lintock & Co of Glasgow had a store in Warren County, before the revolution, near the place of my residence, and there was some money due them for merchandize sold there. Mr. Robert Turnbull of Petersburg has collected, or secured to be collected, a considerable part, if not the whole, of the debts. I know that he collected, or secured to be collected, more than one hundred pounds from one gentleman.

I have not heard of any suit in that part of the state brought by a British creditor, But I have heard in several instances, that the people indebted, have renewed their obligations, to their creditors, since the termination of the war on terms mutually agreed upon

You will have an opportunity to see all the confiscation Laws of North Carolina in the revised code published under the direction of James Iredell.

The vague terms used in the treaty<sup>15</sup> to describe the persons attached to great Britain, and that of *Real British subjects* has been productive in that State of some doubtful interpretations of the treaty. But the Treaty by a Law passed at Tarborough<sup>16</sup> before the adoption of the present Constitution of the U.S. was declared to be "a part of the Law of the Land." and I imagine it has been taken notice of accordingly by the Judges.

I know nothing of the case you mention Bayard vs Singleton<sup>17</sup> But if Mr. Bayard in right of himself, or what I conjecture in right of his wife<sup>18</sup> holding property from her father, brought the suit. They were neither of them real British subjects. If by that expression is meant persons born and resident of Great Britain—They were both natives of America and Mr. Cornell<sup>19</sup>—the father, was banished by name and his property Confiscated.

Mr. Grove<sup>20</sup> informed me he knew of some instances where in Brit-

<sup>15</sup> For terms of the treaty, see Hunter Miller, *Treaties and other International Acts of the United States of America*, II, 154-155.

<sup>16</sup> The Assembly of North Carolina was held at Tarboro, North Carolina, November 9, 1787-December 22, 1787. *North Carolina Manual 1913*, p. 456.

<sup>17</sup> In 1785, the Legislature of North Carolina passed an act which forbade the courts to entertain suit for the recovery of property, the title to which had been denied by the Confiscation Acts. Bayard brought ejection proceedings for the recovery of the property which Singleton had purchased from the Confiscation Commissioners, New Bern, North Carolina, May, 1786. Samuel Johnston, James Iredell, and William R. Davie were counsel for the plaintiff; Abner Nash and Alfred Moore for the defendant. The plaintiff's lawyers moved to dismiss the case, but they were overruled. The decision in the case is important, as it was the first case in which an act of the legislature was declared contrary to a written constitution. Biggs, J. Crawford, *The Power of the Judiciary Over the Legislature*; Lefler, Hugh Talmage, *North Carolina History: Told by Contemporaries*, pp. 125-129.

<sup>18</sup> Mrs. Bayard was the daughter of Samuel Cornell. See Samuel Johnston's letter, April 13, 1792.

<sup>19</sup> Samuel Cornell was a Tory. He made his property over to his children, but it was confiscated. Clark, Walter, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina*, XI, 322-323; XII, 174-175, 192, 200-201, 206, 207-208; XVI, 387, 450, 796; XVII, 386-388; XIX, 672; XIII, 263, 424.

<sup>20</sup> William Barry Grove lived in Cumberland County. He was a member of Congress from 1790 to 1804. For a sketch of his life see Battle, Kemp P., "William Barry Grove," *James Sprunt Historical Monographs*, No. 3.

ish creditors had moved in the courts in the part of the State where he lived. he could not particularize. But said he thinks one suit was against Mr. James Hogg<sup>21</sup> as Executor to his brother.

I have the honor to be very

Sincerely

Dear Sir

Your most obt Servt.

FROM NATHANIEL MACON<sup>22</sup>

April 12<sup>th</sup> 1792

Sir

I have been favored with the sight of your two notes of yesterday. As to the case of Bayard and Singleton, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the facts, to give information on the subject, I do not recollect that any suit has been commenced in the courts of North Carolina, where I am acquainted, since the peace by British subjects or persons who attached themselves to the British army during the late war, It may not be improper to observe that I believe some of the debts have been paid into the treasury of North Carolina under the law of that State which confiscated debts as well as real property, Many of the debts have been paid to persons employed by creditors to collect since the peace and for others new bonds have been given, on some of them recoveries have been had in court in favor of the plaintiff, I am

Sir

with great respect

yr. most obt. sert.

FROM WILLIAM BARRY GROVE<sup>23</sup>

Philadel<sup>a</sup>. Apr. 12.<sup>th</sup> 1792

Sir

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the facts and circumstances attending the case of *Bayard vs Singleton* to afford any conclusive information relative to the transactions, or the principles of the Decision; I believe Mr Johnson<sup>24</sup> was engaged in the cause and will I presume give you the information required on the Subject. — In answer to your other note. I can only say that I do not recollect any instance of our Courts refusing Judgement for British debts. The Treaty of Peace

<sup>21</sup> James Hogg came from Scotland and began a mercantile business in Fayetteville. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-16.

<sup>22</sup> Nathaniel Macon was a member of the House of Representatives from October 28, 1791, to March 2, 1815. He served as a Senator from North Carolina from 1815 until he resigned in 1828. Thus he was thirty-seven years a member of Congress. For an account of his career in Congress see Wilson, Edwin Mood, "The Congressional Career of Nathaniel Macon," *James Sprunt Historical Monographs*, No. 2, pp. 1-37.

<sup>23</sup> William Barry Grove was a member of Congress from North Carolina, Oct. 24, 1791-March 3, 1803. *North Carolina Manual* 1913, pp. 912-916.

<sup>24</sup> Samuel Johnston was one of the counsel in the case.

has long since been declared the Law of the State by an express act of the Assembly; Having always lived in a commercial Town,<sup>25</sup> where many British Merchants resided before the War some of them left the Country at the commencement of the revolution and took with them their Books, Bonds, &c. these have since been returned and I am acquainted with many individuals who have paid those debts, and others who renewed those Bonds &; this last plan seems to have been the one fallen on generally. I am further induced to remark a reason perhaps why some of the old debts have not been recovered in the Courts, the Currency of N. Carolina was made a tender. and the Creditors rather prefer[r]ed indulgence than receive that kind of money. These an[d] some Debtors I apprehend who paid the amt. of their Bonds &c. into the Treasury of N°. Carolina during the War under an act of the Assembly, these men will possibly avail themselves of that Law to evade further payments.

I am

Sir

Your very Hum Sert

FROM JOHN STEELE<sup>26</sup>

[April 12, 1792]

Sir,

I have considered the subject matter of your enquiries, and have nothing further to communicate, than what my colleague has stated in the foregoing letter – Many instances of renewal of bonds, and giving bonds for old book debts due to British subjects which were barr'd by limitation, are within my knowledge.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your huml. Servant

FROM SAMUEL JOHNSTON<sup>27</sup>

Senate Chamber 13<sup>th</sup> April 1792.

Sir,

I have heard of but two suits brought by british creditors since the peace, for the recovery of debts in the State of North Carolina; and never heard that any one had failed of recovery, because he was a British subject. In one instance where a suit was instituted and in my direction, for the recovery of a debt, contracted in 1763 at which time

<sup>25</sup> Fayetteville was the home of William Barry Grove.

<sup>26</sup> This note was written on the back of William Barry Grove's letter. John Steele was a member of the House of Representatives from North Carolina, 1790–March 2, 1793. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, pp. 911-912.

<sup>27</sup> Samuel Johnston was one of the first senators from North Carolina. He drew the short term and served from 1790–March 2, 1793. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, pp. 911-912.

the plaintiff returned to Great Britain, and has been resident in London from that time, a recovery was had in the superior court at Edenton, in April last for the full value nor was it any part of the defence, that the plaintiff was a British subject, though the fact was notorious. The parties were Alexander Elmsly<sup>28</sup> agst Steven Lee's<sup>29</sup> ex'ors.

The case of Bayard against Singleton, as I recollect it was this: Mr. Cornell, the father of Mrs. Bayard, was a merchant in the town of Newbern in North Carolina; sometime previous to the declaration of independence, he went to Europe leaving his family in Newbern, and after that returned from Europe to New York then a British garrison. From New York he came to Newbern in a flag of truce, but the assembly then sitting refused to permit him to come on shore, unless he would take an oath of allegiance to the State which he refused. While on board the vessel in the harbour of Newbern he conveyed the whole of his estate in North Carolina to his children respectively by formal deeds of gift, which were duly proven and registered. Mr Cornell then with the permission of the Executive, removed his wife & children to New York. All Mr. Cornell's estate was afterwards declared to be confiscated by act of Assembly, and all the property which Mr. Cornell had conveyed to his children, was seized and sold by commissioners appointed for the sale of confiscated estates. Mr. Singleton became a purchaser of part of it. Under this sale, one of Mr. Cornell's daughters who claimed that part, under one of the above mentioned conveyances, instituted an ejectment for the recovery of it, and on tryal a verdict was given for the defendant.

I should have done myself the pleasure, sooner to have answered your queries had I not parted with your notes immediately and did not get them back till this morning -

I am Sir,

Your most obedient servt.

FROM ALEXANDER MARTIN<sup>30</sup>

North Carolina August 24, 1792.

Sir

I have had the honor of receiving your letter of the 6<sup>th</sup>. of June last enclosing a copy of a letter from Governor Blount<sup>31</sup> notifying you of certain grants being obtained from the State of North Carolina for

<sup>28</sup> After Alexander Emsly returned to England he became one of the agents of North Carolina. Saunders, William L., ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X. Introduction, xvi.

<sup>29</sup> Steven Lee was a member of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina. *Ibid.*, X, 215, 525, 916; *State Records*, XX, 337, 339.

<sup>30</sup> Alexander Martin was governor of North Carolina Dec. 17, 1789-Dec. 14, 1792. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, p. 417. Alexander Martin's letters of August 24 and October 4, 1792, are both press copies, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>31</sup> In June, 1790, William Blount was appointed by Washington governor of the territory ceded by North Carolina to the Federal Government. *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 390.

lands in the ceded territory south of French Broad river, on supernumerary warrants from Armstrong's<sup>32</sup> office. One of the conditions of the act of cession hath authorized "any person or persons who shall have made his or their entry in the office usually called Armstrongs office and located the same to any spot, or piece of ground, on which any other person or persons shall have previously located any entry or entries that then and in that case the person or persons having made such entry or entries or their assignee or assignees, shall have leave and be at full liberty to remove the location of such entry or entries to any lands on which no entry had been specifically located or any vacant lands included in the limits of the lands hereby intended to be ceded." Under the sanction of this clause of the cession act some grants have issued on warrants called supernumerary laid on vacant lands founded on entries bona fide made in Armstrongs office that have been taken away from the claimant by a previous entry. But standing instructions have been given to the Secretary of State,<sup>33</sup> since I have had the honor of being in the government, not to make out any grants for lands south of French Broad river between the Tenasee and Pigeon rivers, and I have been cautious in executing any grants where the location hath been doubtful, for any lands on the tract between those water-courses, though by the artifice of the claimant or the surveyors, the Secretary and myself have been imposed on by divergent locations. In answer to Governor Blounts letter to me on that subject, I gave him the above information which he is pleased to mention in his letter to you, and where grants have since continued to issue, the same caution had been attended to, making no doubt the Secretary and myself have been subject to the same imposition; not that the State in my opinion, was precluded in any clause of the cession act from making grants or supernumerary warrants, laid on vacant lands between these rivers, but that by granting the same away on such warrants, considerable injury might be done in a number of inhabitants settled on those lands who have not yet entered their pre-emption for want of an office being opened for this purpose. Some grants have issued for lands on the south side of Broad river and the waters thereof, in Burk[e] County in the State of North Carolina, east of the cession line, which grants I presume Governor Blount has no reference to. Should any individual be injured by any grant obtained by imposition as above, it will give me much uneasiness, as it was not made by design: But should grants have issued, or in future issue founded as above for any vacant our unoccupied land on that, or any other tract of the ceded territory, permit me

<sup>32</sup> John Armstrong was in charge of the land office.

<sup>33</sup> James Glasgow was secretary of state of North Carolina from 1777 to 1798. *North Carolina Manual, 1913*, p. 441.

to suggest, to make such grants the act of cession from the above recited clause, seems to give the state full authority, which I presume is not repealed by the treaty of Holston, or any other Indian treaty-objects not contemplated in the act of cession.

I shall be very sorry however, should any misconstruction of the act of cession on my part or misunderstanding arise, between the officers of the United States & myself on this subject, as it is my sincere wish to pursue the line of duty & cultivate that harmony that ought to exist between us. I have the honor to be Sir, with the highest esteem & respect your most obedient servant.

FROM ALEXANDER MARTIN

State of North Carolina October 4<sup>th</sup> 1792

Sir

In my last I did myself the honor to write you an answer to your letter respecting supernumerary warrants from entries made in Armstrong's office on lands lying south of French Broad river, between the waters of Tenasee and Pigeon rivers; I had not attended immediately (having the cession act then before me) to the act of Assembly for opening the Land office in the western country, in which act the above lands are reserved for use of the Cherokee Indians, - I take this opportunity to inform you, I am well satisfied with the claims the United States have to these lands since the treaty of Holston, and though I had been cautious in executing grants for these lands, it was from a different principle, that the persons inhabiting the same might be intitled to their pre-emptions when an entry office should be opened for said lands as mentioned in the cession act. In order to deter persons from practicing frauds on the Secretary and myself in future, which from artifice, and perhaps our inattention have been affected, and that the clauses of the entry office act may be more fully known, which reserved those lands for the Cherokee Indians I have issued a Proclamation, the copy of which you have enclosed, and which governor Blount is requested to publish in the western Territory and that he take such measures he may think proper against the offenders who chiefly reside in his government that the evil complained of be punished.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of all the authenticated copies of the acts of the last Session of Congress which you have been pleased to transmit to me. I have the honor to be with very great esteem & respect Sir, your

most obedient humbl. servt.

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS

Senate Chamber 14 Feby. 1793

[Sir:]

The committee<sup>34</sup> on the enclosed bill reported verbally in substance as follows. That the line to be run would be exparte, as the President of the United States was authorized to appoint the officers to be employed in running the line, although such line would have effected the jurisdiction of the States of Virginia Kentucky, and perhaps, would have effected the property of their citizens. That the inhabitants of the territory south of the Ohio being more entitled by their numbers to a Legislature should be left to establish their boundary with the adjoining States, that any interference on the part of the general government is unnecessary, and that the expense of running the line ought to be paid by the states particularly interested.

Yours sincerely

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS

Warren in N. Carolina 28<sup>th</sup>. oct.<sup>r</sup> 1793

[Sir]

For the first time my dear Sir, I have an opportunity direct for your house. Micajah Childs called on me this evening on his return to Charlottesville, I avail myself of it by his permission to send you some grape vines.

No. 1 Burgundy, called Millers Burgundy, the berries oval and black, the leaves covered with a heavy down.

- 2 Amorna second Burgundy or black morillon esteemed the best of the two for wine
- 3 White Fontinac, the French muscat blanc, the bunches large, the berries round and closely clustered.
- 4 Rhenish grape.
- 5 Tokay
- 6 Virginia I believe a native, the bunches large, the berries round, flesh coloured, the leaves large not serrated the greatest climber I have.
- 7 Damascus grape, the berries large, oval purple coloured, and grow loose on the bunches. the leaves very much and deeply serrated.
- 8 Royal muscadine or Barboyce, a snow white berry, small, the bunches large, the wood and foliage remarkably gross and strong.

<sup>34</sup> The committee was composed of Benjamin Hawkins, John Rutherford, and Caleb Strong. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. For the other letters of Benjamin Hawkins to Thomas Jefferson see *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806*, Georgia Historical Society, Vol. IX. For a list of the letters see *Calendar to Jefferson Papers*, VIII, 297-298.

- 9 White muscat, from Lun'al, the berries large, when ripe of orange colour, clouded with brown or russet, a very plentiful bearer, the vine climbs very little.
- 10 White sweetwater
- 11 black sweetwater the bunches short and close.
- 12 Corinth
- 13 I take to be the black Hamburg, the berries, oval, not crowded.

\*No. 1.3.4.5.6 planted in 1791. the 26 march, pruned down to three eyes. in november and the year following they bore no. 1 four bunches, no. 3 three bunches, and the others one, all of which came to perfection. -

I have been successful with all the European vines I have planted, I put cuttings with 2 or 3 eyes obliquely, in the earth, the uppermost eye about an inch under the surface that covered with roted straw and watered, I put the straw to retain the moisture. The watering is repeated on the straw twice a week in the spring if it proves dry. I have had equal success from planting a single eye, with an inch of wood above and below it, an inch or two under ground covered and watered in like manner. The native grapes I find it difficult to propagate by cuttings; - you may put your cuttings in a box of earth so as to be kept barely moist 'till spring, or plant them immediately. and cover well against the frost, the latter I prefer, I put a small stick down by the eye, of every one, and if I plant in the fall, I cover with earth about 6, 8, or ten inches, in the spring I reduce the earth, to the eye then cover it an inch or two as before directed.

I have been the whole summer, building mills, wishing success to French Democracy and ruin to the combination of Kings and priests. I am now though late, sewing wheat, clover and Timothy. I am planting apple and peach trees and preparing a large nursery to stock my plantation with all the varieties within my reach.

We have had in some parts of this country and of Virginia opposite to me, the long[est] drought ever known among us, from some week in July till saturday evening, when after very warm weather it began to rain, the wind at N.E. and cold.

I hope you have escaped the current fever of the country, I have not, I was attacked the last of august, though not dangerously, I have been freed from it but a few days. The Physician in my neighborhood who corresponds with some in Philadelphia says the disorder is very similar, though not so virulent as there, we have had but four instances of persons dying with it, in some miles of me, one very healthy in three days one in six and two in nine, four fifths of all of us have been afflicted with it. We give an emetrick, and some times a cathartick, then leave the patient pretty much to nature. Bark has been tryed, but I have not

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\* This was written on the margin opposite the list of grape vines.

seen an instance of it being efficacious without the aid of snakeroot, and with that aid, it is not much to be depended on.

This rain from the N.E. continued yesterday, and last night, it began to snow, which contin[u]ed till two o'clock, this day, if the earth had been frozen it would have been eighteen inches deep at least. it has generally been four inches during the whole day. — This change of weather will be favorable for the citizens of Philadelphia who must have been miserably afflicted. it will cleanse the city. against the meeting of Congress. —

I am very sincerely your friend

FROM BENJAMIN WILLIAMS<sup>35</sup>

Raleigh December 5<sup>th</sup>. 1800

Sir

Permit me to introduce to your Notice William Tate Esqr. late an Elector to vote for a President & Vice President of the U. S. who goes charged with the Votes of that Body to you, & to assure you of the great Respect & Esteem of

Sir Your Obt. Servt.

FROM WILLIAM FALKENER<sup>36</sup>

Sir!

As Secretary to the Committee appointed by the Inhabitants of Warren County, to prepare an Address to the President of the United States, I have the Honour to forward the enclosed.<sup>37</sup>

Accept my Sincere Wishes for your personal Happiness, and believe me to be

With great Respect  
your mo[s]t obt<sup>t</sup> Servt.

Warrenton N<sup>o</sup> Car.<sup>a</sup>

Mar. 4<sup>th</sup> 1801

<sup>35</sup> Benjamin Williams was governor of North Carolina, November 23, 1779–December 6, 1802. *North Carolina Manual 1913*, p. 417.

<sup>36</sup> William Falkener came from London after 1790, settled in Warrenton, where he founded a school for girls. He died December 10, 1819. Coon, Charles L., *North Carolina Schools and Academies*, pp. 594-595.

<sup>37</sup> The following address is in the Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress:

"The Inhabitants of Warren County in the State of North Carolina duly impressed with the awful Check the Will of the People of the United States met with by the House of Representatives, do now feel themselves in the highest Exultation from the public Will being at least explicitly expressed, we do in the utmost Joyfulness of our Hearts congratulate you Sir on your Election to the Chief Magistracy of our Country, our undissenting Voice has long proclaimed our wishes and our highest Gratification is now satisfied by your Appointment in the Manner pointed out by our excellent Constitution. That you may long live to fill the chief Magistracy of your Country and by your Wisdom keep us clear of foreign Influence as well as domestic Faction, which from your Publick as well as private Character, we have no Doubt will be the Case, and that after this Life you may finally join the almighty Ruler of Worlds in Company with the Heroes and Patriots of your Country, is our sincere Wish,

Signed by Order of the Citizens convened at Warrenton on the fourth Day of March one Thousand eight Hundred and one.

W. K. Falkener, secretary"

FROM THE REPUBLICAN CITIZENS OF FAYETTEVILLE<sup>38</sup>

Sir

You have long been ranked among the numbers of distinguished Patriots, whose transcendent virtues claim the Plaudity of United America.

In chusing you to fill the arduous Office of First Magistrate of the Union, the Natives of the Earth shall behold another signal Instance evincing decided worth alone, deserves the suffrages of Freeman!

Whatever diversity of Opinion may have recently prevailed we dare hazard the prediction, it will be found in the Event to have been substantially that salutary Jealousy of Rights inseperable from the Nature of man in Society.

We respectfully felicitate you Sir; and heartily congratulate our Fellow Citizens in General, on the auspicious Issue of the Late Election; which has so conspicuously proved the excellence of the system we have adopted, and prefer to all others.

Contemplating the extensive powers delegated to the Supreme Executive, we feel our Confidence animated by the reflection, that the Trust is reposed with the Sage, who dictated and preserved the ever memorable Instrument of 1776.

May the Almighty Ruler inspire, and direct your Council; and prolong your useful Life!

Signed on behalf of the Republican Citizens of the Town and Vicinity of Fayetteville

ROBERT COCKRAN

MICHAEL WALTON

Fayetteville, North Carolina

March the 4th 1801

## FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Warrenton 20 April 1801

Sir

Since my return it has not been in my power to see General Davie,<sup>39</sup> He is now at his plantation on the Catawba, I will endeavor to see him as soon as he gets home, which will probably be about the 10 - of May; If you should wish to appoint more than one commissi[one]r from this State to treat with the Indians, I do not think a second could be found that would do better than Major Absalom Tatom<sup>40</sup> of Hillsborough; but it seems to me too, if not one, could do every thing that is to be done, and

<sup>38</sup> There is no covering letter in the Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>39</sup> William Richardson Davie was appointed to negotiate a treaty with the Creek Indians, but he declined to serve. In 1802, he did accept an appointment to treat with the Tuscaroras, who were moving from North Carolina to New York. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VI, 195.

<sup>40</sup> Absalom Tatum served as private secretary to Governor Thomas Burke, major of "Light Horse" in the Revolution, member of the Assembly of North Carolina, and the Convention of 1788. *State Records*, XII, 806, 824; XIII, 474; XIV, 264; XVI, 2, 270; XXI, 3, 4, 6, 20, 21; XXII, 4, 6; XXIII, 734f.

if only two it might be well to appoint one from Tennessee or if three should be preferred, one from this state, one from Tennessee & the third from some other state — We wish no change of any of the federal officers, in this state, unless they are delinquent, and then the delinquency be undue public. — I have understood that Sitgreaves<sup>41</sup> did not accept his new appointment, if this be the fact, and you determine to make a new appointment permit me to name you, Henry Potter<sup>42</sup> of Raleigh for the place, As a Judge I am sure he would be acceptable to every Democrat in the state, He is a sound one himself and has always been so.

Suffer me to say to you, that the people expect, —<sup>43</sup>

That Levees will be done way —

That the communication to the next Congress will be by letter not a speech —

That we have too many ministers in Europe —

That some of the Collectors, perhaps all, had better receive a fixed salary, than commissions —

That the army might safely be reduced —

That the navy might also be reduced —

That the Agents to the War & Navy might be reduced — In fact that the system of economy is to be adopted and pursued with energy. As soon as I see Davie I will inform you, and If he does not incline to be a commissioner to treat with the Indians, I will then name some other to you

I am with perfect respect esteem

Sir yr. most obt. servt —

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Sir

Buck Spring 23 April 1801

In my letter to you dated a few days past at Warrenton, I forgot to mention a subject which may of itself appear trifling, but when considered as a general regulation may have importance enough to deserve

<sup>41</sup> John Sitgreaves was appointed by Washington as judge of the United States court for the District of North Carolina. He held this office until his death, March 4, 1802. He declined to become judge of the fifth district. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 398-401.

<sup>42</sup> Henry Potter accepted the appointment of United States Judge of the fifth district. In 1802, he succeeded Sitgreaves as judge of the North Carolina district. Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, V, 435.

<sup>43</sup> Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. Jefferson replied on May 14 to Macon's letters of April 20 and 23 as follows:

"Levies are done away.

The first communication to the next Congress will be, like all subsequent ones, by message, to which no answer will be expected—

The diplomatic establishment in Europe will be reduced to three members.

The Compensation to Collectors depends on you, not on me—

The army is undergoing a chaste reformation.

The Navy will be reduced to the legal establishment by the last of this month.

Agencies in every department will be revised—

We shall push you to the utmost in economizing—

A very early recommendation had been given to the P.M. Genl. to employ no printer, foreigner, or revolutionary tory in any of his offices—this department is still untouched. The arrival of Mr Gallatin yesterday, completed the organization of our administration."

consideration. It is this, that no person concerned in a printing office especially where news papers are printed, should hold any appointment in the post office,<sup>44</sup> this would have so much fair play in it, that none, could with reason complain; Things of this small kind are mentioned, on a supposition, that while you are attending to the great interest of the nation, they may possibly escape your observation.

I have not made any apology for this or my other letter, because I am confident they are always useless, and not expected by you from your friends,

I am with great respect

Sir

yr. most obt. sert.

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Buck Spring 1 May 1801

Sir

I wrote you some days past recommending Mr. Henry Potter of Raleigh, as Judge in the place of Sitgreaves who declines accepting the new appointment, I am well informed that he will be acceptable, he has been uniformly a sound Republican

If agreeable to you, I should be greatly gratified, that you would consult Mr. Steele<sup>45</sup> the comptroller as to his appointment – I direct to you because I do not know which of the Secretaries are at Washington.

I am with the utmost respect

Sir

yr. mot obt sert –

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Buck Spring 24 May 1801

Sir

Your favor of the 14 instant has been received, and the enclosed put in the post office at Warrenton for Mr. Potter,<sup>46</sup> I have written to him fully on the appointment, and have hopes that he will accept, I have candidly stated to him, the probability of the act<sup>47</sup> under which he is appointed being repealed, I saw him last week though not knowing

<sup>44</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>45</sup> John Steele of Salisbury, North Carolina, was comptroller.

<sup>46</sup> In his letter of May 14, 1801, Jefferson stated that he had offered Henry Potter the place of judge of the fifth district. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>47</sup> The Judiciary act of 1801 was a Federalist measure and subsequently repealed by the Republicans. When the act was repealed in 1802, the five Republicans of North Carolina voted for it and the four Federalists against it. In the Senate both of the North Carolina Senators, David Stone and Jesse Franklin, voted for repeal. *Annals of Congress*, 7th Congress, pp. 82, 69-74, 183; *Raleigh Register*, Feb. 23 and March 16, 1802. The North Carolina Legislature issued instructions to the representatives in both houses of Congress "to use their utmost endeavors to procure a repeal of the said law." *House of Commons Journal*, 1801, p. 62; *Senate Journal*, 1801, p. 55.

whether he would be appointed. I did not say so much to him, as I have written I will endeavor again to see him in two or three weeks, if I should I will inform you the result of our conversation

In my recommendation I shall carefully endeavor to select such as can discharge the duty of the office, and have been uniformly democratic, although I do not wish any person turned out of office, who was a whig in the Revolutionary war, for any opinion he may now hold, yet I would not recommend one for office who had not always been a Republican; I am confident that Mr. Potter could not suffer by a comparison with Sitgreaves<sup>48</sup> or Hill<sup>49</sup>

I have been informed that the collector at Edenton, was during the war, a New York Long Island Tory, but of the fact I have not sufficient information to speak positive, if it be so, ought he to be continued, The fact I suppose can be ascertained next winter at Washington

I am pretty well assured, that a systematic opposition may be expected, it was probably organized at Washington last winter, I have been a good deal about since my return and find the feds every where trying to impress their principles on the people, but without effect, General Davie is not returned, I shall endeavor to see him as soon as possible, I sincerely hope that he may be willing to undertake the negotiations with the Indians

Your acquaintance Mr. Willie Jones<sup>50</sup> is I fear not long for this world, he is unable to walk, and there is no probability, that he ever will again

I am with great respect

Sir

yr. most obt. sert -

FROM DAVID TURNER<sup>51</sup>

N<sup>o</sup> Carolina Bertie County 16<sup>th</sup> nov<sup>r</sup> 1801

Sir

I take the liberty to address you tho much in the rear of doing so, - I am not a person of Letters, and am in an Humble state, the deranged situation of my affairs has cast me so far from the Leeward, that I do not know whither I should ever be able to fetch up, which may perhaps disable me in what I may try to do - however this by the by -

Give me leave Sir to Congratulate you on your appointment to the presidency of the United States, four years ago (or rather five now) I was for Jefferson, failing in my wish I considered as no inconsiderable

<sup>48</sup> John Sitgreaves remained a staunch Federalist.

<sup>49</sup> William Henry Hill was appointed by Washington in 1790 as the District Attorney of the United States for North Carolina. He served in the House of Representatives of Congress from December 2, 1799, to March 3, 1803. When the presidential election of 1801 was thrown in the House of Representatives, Hill voted for Aaron Burr. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, IV, p. 178.

<sup>50</sup> Willie Jones died June 18, 1801, at Raleigh. *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1165.

<sup>51</sup> David Turner served in the Assembly of North Carolina from Bertie County, 1780-1783, 1790. *North Carolina Manual, 1913*, p. 500.

disappointment, your appointment was my earnest wish, And your re-appointment hereafter for many four years yet to come is my most ardent wish, In such a length of time (tho not very long) I hope affairs may gain some stability those Who are now Children will arrive to manhood and those who are now 20 will be of age to take any seat in Government, and being acquainted with and bred in and used to our republican representative Government will the better know how to prize it, at the beginning durement and at the end of our – struggle with Britain for Liberty I had no Idea that those who Joined them against us, should after we gained our Independence, be our Revinue officers and agents in government I have been and am now astonished at it, I wonder they are not ashamed I have more than a crumb of hope, that their reproachfull swillers & unmanly Language, will be like the surging waves beating against the solid rock beat all to froth and bubbles turned, I have not expected all such would Immediately be displaced, there being great difference between putting in and putting out office

I have great Confidence that under your Administration, our own Citizens as well as the Nations will respect our government. And I pray the Great Creator through his great bounty & tendering Love will Guard us, and be pleased to give you strength of Body & mind; and finally Cloath you with that inward Robe of Righteousness which fadeth not –

I beg you to accept my Highest Consideration and Esteem (and permit me to say) Dear Sir, I am

your Most obedient – Humble Servant

Please to catch at the sense rather than the words – Sir Please to suffer me to acquaint you, that as far as I can learn & I have reason to believe, that our standard half Bushel is larger than any in the neighboring County or any in the United States. that of New York comes nearest to it, but is some smaller, we have no wine measures belonging to the standard, as to weights to try Steelyard, I believe we have a 7<sup>th</sup> a 14<sup>th</sup>, 28 & I believe 56 – I was very Sincerely

as before

FROM JAMES HALL<sup>52</sup>

Iredell County, N. Carolina, Dec.<sup>r</sup> 5.<sup>th</sup> 1801.

Sir

Permit me the honor of presenting to your Excellency a copy of a brief history of the Mississippi Territory,<sup>53</sup> which I have lately published. The appendix will apologize for the brevity of the work.

<sup>52</sup> James Hall was a Presbyterian minister who left North Carolina in the fall of 1800 and went to Natchez, where he established the first Protestant mission in the territory. In 1803 he returned to North Carolina and resumed his preaching and teaching. His private school was noted for theology and science. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 133-134.

<sup>53</sup> Published in 1801.

It is not sent for any supposed degree of merit which it displays; but as my worthy friend, the comptroller<sup>54</sup> of the United States, informs me, that the history of the territory is but little known, even at the seat of government, I flatter myself that the transient view given in the work may afford to your Excellency some gratification.

Should the business of your very important station admit, your observations, as a naturalist, on my theory of hail would be highly desirable.

Permit me further to observe, that in Summer mos. with the assistance of a coarse mechanic, I constructed in a very rude manner an instrument on astronomic principles, which promises to serve as a solar & lunar dial, and also as a solar compass, without the magnetic needle.

It has been in Salisbury since Sept.<sup>r</sup> 1800, together with a letter, containing a description of the instrument, addressed to your Excellency, as President of the American Philosophical Society. I have been thoroughly unfortunate in conveying it to Philadelphia. This I do not now expect before next summer.

I would not have mentioned this matter, had I not been lately informed, that one of my pupils, to whom alone I developed the principles on which the instrument is constructed, has employed a finished workman to make another of the same kind.

I know not that the young man has any undue designs on the subject; but should the instrument be of any real advantage, which I think may, if constructed with accuracy, it is hoped that government will admit of nothing to the prejudice of the inventor.

Confiding therefore in your excellency, as a friend to science & the rights of men, should any undue measures be attempted, I will promise myself your patronage & influence as far as they may be necessary.

I am, Sir your Excellency's most obedient.  
and very humble servant.

FROM WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE<sup>55</sup>

Halifax No. Carolina, March 20<sup>th</sup>. 1802

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 28 ult.<sup>o</sup> covering that of Mr. Du Pont and Mr. Barbe-Marbois respecting the business of General LaFayette: The friends of this unfortunate Patriot will feel themselves indebted to your Excellency for your polite attention to this subject; it is certainly important, that if any measure should be at-

<sup>54</sup> John Steele.

<sup>55</sup> William R. Davie was a distinguished general in the Revolution, a member of the Assembly of North Carolina, brigadier-general in Adams' administration, governor of North Carolina, member of the peace commission in 1799, and served on other commissions. *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 98-99.

tempted in his behalf, that the proposition should be made on a practicable and admissible principle; the mode,<sup>56</sup> you have been so good to recommend, is the only one I suppose that could be adopted to serve him, consistent with the constructions of our constitution, and the laws of France, which do not permit a citizen to receive a pension from any foreign nation, and this mode will certainly be the most honorable and therefore the most agreeable to the General.

After giving this business some consideration, I have thought, however that it would not be prudent to bring it before Congress during the present session, this time appears to me, the most unfavorable that could be chosen for that purpose; the differences which have prevailed and the exertion which have been made in Congress have wrought up party spirit to the highest pitch of initiation, and one could scarcely express amidst the conflict of angry and unfriendly passions, and the animosity of party rage, a coincidence of just feeling and generous sentiment on any subject.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect –

Your Excellency mo. obd.

FROM JOHN MINOR<sup>57</sup>

Granville County

No; Carolina

March ye 31<sup>st</sup> day 1802

Dear Sir/

as it has been my misfortune as yet not to obtain any Pay due a brother of mine for his services in the Continental army; and who after being taken as prisoner at the Sorender of Charles Town,<sup>58</sup> South Carolina: returned to this State volentered himself with General Butler;<sup>59</sup> and in an action with the torys at Lynlys mill Lost his life = I administrator for the dect; to Major Thaus ajent for the State of South Carolina made application on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of February 1794 he informed me I should send my petition to Congress! and about ye 3 of october next after I did so; and I know not what become of it, whether lodg[e]d in the office or what My friend Mecon<sup>60</sup> a member to Congress informs me I am now Bard by whats Cald the Statute: and if I gitt it: there must be a special act passt which he rather thought would not be done But my Confidence in your goodness and Relying on your Justice and the goodness and Justice of Every Member in Congress that I cannot forbare persevering to send another petition with a Coppy of letters

<sup>56</sup> On February 28, 1802, Jefferson asked Davie's opinion on "Indemnification" or reimbursing Lafayette for his services to America. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>57</sup> On May 30, 1778, "John Miner" took an oath of allegiance to North Carolina in Granville County. *State Records*, XXII, 170. "George Minor" also took an oath. *State Records*, XXII, 171.

<sup>58</sup> The surrender of Charleston took place May 12, 1780.

<sup>59</sup> John Butler.

<sup>60</sup> Nathaniel Macon.

of administration with m<sup>r</sup> Grays Certificate who acted as pay master at the time my Brother was in Service; now I pray your Tenderness with Justice towards me and I hope Congress will the Same; as my brother was a brave Sergeant of the Second Continental Regiment of South Carolina tho lost his life in ye militia of this state & he in fact a prisoner of war at the very time; Tax run high this year' and now about to Collect the direct Tax with State County & Parish Tax which will not be less than 14 or 15 dollars for me and I know not how I am to raise it; how Ever I speak this by way of information – I leave the matter in hand with your goodness & if I gitt it will be by some provition made by your Self & Congress which will be an Encouragement to my five Sons in the next war I Ever pray, &c – & Remain your friend & hble Servt –

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Buck Spring 17 June 1802

Sir

Believing that it will not be disagreeable to you to hear the sentiments of the people in the different parts of the Union and having since my return been in three of the adjoining Counties, I with real pleasure inform you, that all (except those who were not expected to be pleased) seem to be perfectly satisfied with the conduct of thou, to whom they have entrusted the management of their public affairs, some who before the electoral election appeared to be almost indifferent as to the elector have declared their sincere approbation of the choice and their Joy that the late election gave birth to an administration which deserves the support of every American

I was at Raleigh the first of June, Judge Hall<sup>61</sup> of South Carolina not attending, there was no court for the trial of cases, Mr. Harris<sup>62</sup> attended and done everything which could be done by one Judge, I saw General Davie<sup>63</sup> then, had some conversation with him, from which I hope he is inclined to give the present administration his support, I only mention this because very different reports were circulated at Washington last winter. The only hope of the dissatisfied is to produce division among the Republicans, of which I hope there is no danger, I also hope none of them want offices, office hunters are never to be satisfied,

<sup>61</sup> Dominick Augustin Hall was appointed by President Adams as judge of the sixth United States District Court, then composed of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 123-124.

<sup>62</sup> Edward Harris was appointed in 1801 as judge of the circuit court of the United States and served for one month. He died at Lumberton, March 29, 1813, while he was presiding in superior court. Ashe, Samuel A'Court, *History of North Carolina*, II, 225.

<sup>63</sup> William Richardson Davie was continually having overtures made to him by Jefferson, who failed to win him over to the Republican party.

Every one pleased with the appointing Potter<sup>64</sup> district Judge, and none that I know displeased with appointment of Harris<sup>65</sup>

I am with respect

Sir, Yr. most obt - srt -

FROM JOHN STEELE<sup>66</sup>

Washington July 1.<sup>st</sup> 1802

Sir,

I am extremely gratified, and obliged by your favor of yesterday.<sup>67</sup> It has determined me to postpone my journey to Carolina until the last of next month, which is the more agreeable to me, as my absence then will correspond with the general arrangement of the Executive.

If my private affairs can possibly be made to admit of it. a sense of gratitude for what I consider equivalent to a new appointment will induce me to return:— but whether in or out of office, I pray you to be assured, that I shall always consider it a flattering distinction to be favored with your confidence, and that it will be my study and my pride to merit the favorable opinion which you have had the goodness to express to me.

I have the honor to be, Sir

with the highest consideration

your most obedient Servt.

FROM TIMOTHY BLOODWORTH<sup>68</sup>

Wilmington December 14<sup>th</sup> 1802

Dear Sir

Pardon the freedom of the appellation, which proceeds from the sincerity of my Heart. to me as an Individual, you are certainly Dear, but to your Country eminently so. when I reflect on the precipice to which we were exposed, & observe the change that has already taken place by

<sup>64</sup> Henry Potter.

<sup>65</sup> Edward Harris.

<sup>66</sup> John Steele was comptroller of the United States in Jefferson's administration. For a list of Steele's letters to Jefferson see *Calendar to Jefferson Papers*, VIII, 415. All of Steele's letters to Jefferson, except his letter of April 12, 1792, and July 1, 1802, are published in H. M. Wagstaff, ed., *The Papers of John Steele*, 2 Vols.

<sup>67</sup> On June 28, Steele asked for leave of absence. Wagstaff, *Papers of John Steele*, I, 284-285; Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

On June 30, 1792, Jefferson wrote Steele as follows:

"I have been entirely satisfied with your conduct in office; that I consider it for the public benefit that you should continue, & that I never have for one moment entertained a wish to the contrary." He also suggested that he hoped Steele would wait until the Executive Department took recess in August. The draft of this letter is in Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>68</sup> Timothy Bloodworth served as a member of the Wilmington committee of safety, member of the Legislature of North Carolina, and the Continental Congress. He opposed the ratification of the Constitution, but he represented North Carolina in the United States Senate from December 7, 1795, to March 3, 1801. When he was elected to succeed Benjamin Hawkins in the United States Senate, Samuel Johnston was so disgusted that the Wilmington blacksmith had been elected that he exclaimed "O tempora, O Mores!" McRee, Griffith, *Life and Letters of James Iredell*, II, 427; Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, III, 15-25.

the Measures of your Administration, my very soul exalts in the pleasing prospect of Republican Government, once languishing under the pangs of desolution, but now restor'd to a flattering prospect of perfect recovery, The Blinded multitude bewildered in the dark error of delution, & ready to subscribe to their own destruction, appear to have discovered a ray of light, to direct their wandering steps from the Gloomy regions of aristocracy, to the bright sunshine of Republican Government. Many are the proselites, & more in the pangs of Conviction, som[e] remain incorrigible, & altho prick'd to the heart, yet knash with their Teeth, & use every vengenerouse means to subvert the truth, injure your Character, & bring your Administration into disrepute, but I flatter myself their efforts are as fruit[l]ess, as the[y] are unjust, & scandalous.

Permit me to mention the application of Mr. Laurence Dorcey for the appointment of Marshall of this State. it appears that Mr. Wirt proposes to resign that office, should that event take place. Mr. Dorcey is desirous to fill the station, he is an active Republican, & has supported a good Character as Deputy Marshall in this Town.

That Heaven may preserve your Health, & continue your Administration for the happiness of your Country, is the ardent wish of Dear Sir.<sup>69</sup>

Your very Humble Servant.

FROM JAMES TURNER<sup>70</sup>

North Carolina

Raleigh 7th April 1803

Sir

In conformity to a Resolution of the Legislature, I have the honor of transmitting to you, A copy of the public laws, passed the last session of the General Assembly of this State.

I have the honor to be

Sir

With high respect

Your most obedient

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Buck Spring 3 Sept 1803

Sir

It is with real pleasure, that I inform you, that the Republican cause is daily gaining ground with us; not only the late elections<sup>71</sup> but the

<sup>69</sup> On December 31, 1802, Jefferson replied to this letter and one of November 30. The latter has not been preserved. Jefferson Paprs, Library of Congress.

<sup>70</sup> James Turner was governor of North Carolina from December 6, 1802, to December 10, 1805. *North Carolina Manual, 1913*, p. 417.

<sup>71</sup> The election of 1803, which occurred in August, gave the Republicans an overwhelming majority. The Legislature of the State was Republican and all of the Congressmen except one was Republican.

candid acknowledgement of many that they have been deceived fully confirm the fact; and this gaining is clearly the effect of the observation, on the difference between the present & past times by the people, and it is worthy of notice that the district<sup>72</sup> which sends the only federalist<sup>73</sup> from the state to Congress, gave a majority of votes to Republican candidates, and I must add that it is also worthy of notice, that during the present administration, not a single person has been dismissed from office in this State, although with one exception I believe they were all federal, though not I hope of the same sort, which abound in some other places

The acquisition of Louisiana has given general satisfaction, though the terms are not correctly known: But if it is within the compass of the present revenue, the purchass when terms are known will be more admired than even now.<sup>74</sup>

If the Floridas can be obtained on tolerable terms, and the belligerent powers only treat us as well as we deserve; we have nothing to make us (the U. S.) uneasy, unless it be the party madness of some our dissatisfied citizens

We have tolerable crops in this county though in some degree injured by hard winds

I am Sir

With great respect

yr. most obt. sert -

FROM TIMOTHY BLOODWORTH

Wilmington January 17<sup>th</sup> 1804

Dear Sir

Will you be pleased to indulge me with the freedom of a friendly address. the Circumstance that give rise to this request, I hope will in som[e] measure Apologize for the liberty I have taken, to divert your attention from the great national concerns that occupy your Minde, in the period of the Sessions. it has been my constant, & unremitted endeavours, to reconcile your enviterate Enemies to your Administration, firmly Believing that all your Measures, were pointed to the Happiness of your Country, divested of sinister views, & such has been the wis-

<sup>72</sup> Fayetteville District included Richmond, Montgomery, Anson, Moore, Cumberland, and Robeson counties. Gilpatrick, Delbert Harold, *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina*, p. 242.

<sup>73</sup> Samuel Purviance.

<sup>74</sup> The purchase of Louisiana was considered by the Republicans in North Carolina as an outstanding achievement. When the final vote on the purchase was cast even Samuel Purviance, the only Federalist in Congress from the State, approved it. *Annals of Congress*, 8th Congress, pp. 443-446. The Assembly in 1804 approved the "wise, pacific, and honourable measures pursued . . . in the acquisition of the important and valuable territory of Louisiana." *House of Commons Journals*, 1804, p. 55; *Senate Journal*, p. 52.

dom, & success, of your Measures, that many of your opposers appear wil[l]ing to becom[e] Advocates for your Continuance in office. among the number of them candid proselites, I am happy to acquaint you of General Benjamin Smith,<sup>75</sup> a Gentleman of effluence, Respectability, & considerable influence. who sett[s] out tomorrow for Washington City, in order to settle the Business of the fortification begun in this place, if it should be your pleasure to favor him with marks of attention, I am persuaded it will confirm his attachment to your Person, & Administration. & if so, it will be a Means of dividing the opposition. (which has been formidable in this place) & render the conquest of Republicanism more compleat, as his Example will have a powerfull Influence on all his Adherents. I submit the subject to your superior information, & beg pardon for calling your attention to a subject so far beneath your Notis. and earnest desire to promote the happiness of my Country, which will in a great Measure be effected by your continuance in office, has given Birth to the Measure. not that I suppose a Thousand Enemies could shake your Popularity, Yet the more numerous the friends on this Occation the less arduous the conflict, & the conquest will be more compleat. I have observed with pleasure, that several persons who was against your Election, by pas[s]ing through that City, & hearing your Character, & observing your Conduct, have returned Advocates for your Administration, & I proudly hope, it will be the case with Mr. Smith, & should this be the case, I am wel[l] persuaded that no small number will be added to the Republican Interest in this District, that has heretofore laboured against the weight of Character, & this Influence of the long robe, both from the Barr, & Pulpit.

Permit me to acquaint you that the fortification is in danger of being much Injured by the high tides, wasting away the sand near the foundation of the works. much Labor has been bestowed on the fortification, but whether or not, it would be advisable to finish the fort, is not for me to determine.

That you may live in the enjoyment of perfect Health, & continue to be, as you have been, a Blessing to your Country, is the ardent Desire, of Dear Sir,<sup>76</sup>

Your obedient Humble Servant. under lasting obligations.

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<sup>75</sup> Benjamin Smith was one of the great benefactors of the University of North Carolina. He served with distinction in the American Revolution. He was governor of the State from December 5, 1810, to December 9, 1811. He died a pauper and was buried at night by some friends to keep his debtors from levying on his body. But upon a warrant from the sheriff, his body was dug up so that his creditors might levy on it according to the law of that time. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 401-406.

<sup>76</sup> Jefferson replied to this letter on January 29, 1804. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Washington 13 Feby 1804

Sir

By the last mail I received the inclosed; after reading I will thank you to return it,<sup>77</sup> I have written another friend for information concerning the grapes as soon as I can hear from him, you shall be informed, whether more sorts can be obtained.

I am with very Great respect

Sir

yr. most obt. sert -

FROM BENTINCK HASTINGS<sup>78</sup>Johnston County N. C. June 7<sup>th</sup> 1804

Sire

The petitioner sendeth greetings, having Studied Mechanism for many years and hath made several useful discoveries and Improvements on different kinds of Machinery, being well acquainted with the principles of Mill work, Steem-Engines, Arkwright's Carding and Spinning Machines, and most of the Manufactures carried on in England &c (and is Erecting a Cotton-Factory in Johnston County N. C.)<sup>79</sup> flattereth himself through the Lenity and goodness of Mr. Jefferson - that he cannot fail to Obtain patents for Six - new Inventions and one Improvement; Viz. first a Bed conductor Iron bed plates with Sacking bottom on a new plan, for destroying of Bedbugs, Second a new construction for packing - Cotton far superior to the Mississippi plan, Third a new method for making of Cyder, Fourth a Washing Machine, Fifth a Machine for grinding of Cotton Seed for making Oil, Sixth a new Invented Tub - Mill, Seventh an Improvement on the Hydraulical Blast That's so serviceable for forges foundries and Smith.

Models shall be Exhibited when required. My Fellow Citizens are Anxious for my Success. Mr. Jefferson may rely on my exertions in his Interest.

I am

Sire

Your Obed.<sup>t</sup> Hum<sup>ble</sup> Ser.<sup>t</sup>

<sup>77</sup> The following memorandum is written on the above letter:

"William Hawkins to Mr. Macon, Warren County Feb. 4 '04

There are but 2 kind of grapes remaining one, oval, purple early ripe the other round, white.

Dr. Thechon is supposed to have taken cuttings of all the varied kinds which Colo Hawkins had. enquiry shall be made—" Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>78</sup> Bentinck Hastings was probably an Englishman who came to North Carolina after the American Revolution.

<sup>79</sup> It has been said that the first cotton mill was erected in North Carolina by Michael Schenck at Lincolnton in 1813. Connor, R. D. W., *Race Elements in the White Population in North Carolina*, p. 109.

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Buck Spring 2 Sept. 1804

Sir

Our Elections are over, and at the next Congress N. C. will be unanimous on the Republican side. McFarland<sup>80</sup> who last winter contested the seat of Purviance<sup>81</sup> is elected; in the district where they live,<sup>82</sup> was the only federal candidate in the State

The claim of the heirs of Lord Granville<sup>83</sup> has made a good deal of noise, but that now begins to abate, people seem to care very little about it at present,

In this neighborhood crops are very sorry, in June too much rain, In July & August too little, though the county will make enough for its own consumption I expect, in some neighborhoods they have tolerable crops.

American politics scarcely ever mentioned, nearly all seem to be satisfied; The conduct of the belligerent nations on sea to our vessels is not quite so satisfactory; But neutrals will always in some degree be damaged by the powers at war – and the U. S. will I hope for ever. be neutral, the trifling injury is not to be compared, with the advantages of the neutral situation, and of peace; It is to be expected some few merchants will venture in illicit trade, and these will make the most noise if they do not succeed

I know full well that the executive is held responsible for appointments, and this may be a reason, for appointing members of Congress, but it is a truth, that people do not like to see so many appointments made from that body, I mention this, because it may be possible your other friends may not have done so, and because I believe you ought to be informed of it, you will I know place it to its true motive; I am Sir, with sincere Esteem,

your most obt sevt.

FROM JESSE FRANKLIN AND DAVID STONE<sup>84</sup>Washington 14<sup>th</sup> Feby 1805

[Sir:]

We have received from the Governor of the State of North Carolina<sup>85</sup> the enclosed act of the Legislature of that State with a Resolution in-

<sup>80</sup> Duncan McFarland of Richmond County was a man with a limited education. He was a Republican leader of the Scotch in his district and a builder of roads and bridges. Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina*, pp. 169-170.

<sup>81</sup> Samuel Purviance.

<sup>82</sup> Fayetteville.

<sup>83</sup> Article IX of the Jay Treaty enabled aliens to hold land in the United States. On April 7, 1796, all members of Congress from North Carolina except the Federalist and William Barry Grove voted against the treaty because it would invalidate the confiscation laws. They feared that Lord Granville's heirs would assert their claim to over one-half of North Carolina under the Jay Treaty. *Annals of Congress*, 4th Congress, pp. 1136-1137, 1290-1291.

<sup>84</sup> Jesse Franklin was a member of the United States Senate from North Carolina from March 3, 1801, to March 2, 1815. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, pp. 915-919. David Stone represented North Carolina in the United States Senate from December 7, 1801, to March 3, 1807; May 24, 1813, to March 2, 1815. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, pp. 915-916, 919.

<sup>85</sup> Nathaniel Alexander was governor of North Carolina. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, p. 418.

structing us to endeavor to have a Road joining the one contemplated in the act established thro' the Country of Cherokee Indians.

It does not occur to us, there is any mode by which that object may be effected but by Treaty with those Indians, we therefore tak[e] the Liberty to lay the Act before you and to request in the name of the State we have the honor to represent that this may become the subject of negotiation at as early a period as the general interest and conversion of the United States will form.

We have the Honor to be  
with the highest consideration  
& Esteem  
Your Humble Servants

*[To be concluded]*

## BOOK REVIEWS

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY: TOLD BY CONTEMPORARIES. Edited by Hugh T. Lefler. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1934. Pp. xiv, 454. \$3.50.)

In preparing and publishing this book, Mr. Lefler and the University of North Carolina Press have performed a long-needed service for which teachers and students of North Carolina history should be grateful. Its announced purpose, according to the preface, is to serve as a supplementary text or source book in high school or college classes. It might have been added that some of the most interesting selections may well be used with elementary classes, especially if explained by the teacher. While the material presented was available before in a few libraries, it was scattered through hundreds of volumes of public documents, compilations, memoirs, diaries, musty newspapers, periodicals, and what-nots. Most of it was not accessible to the great majority of students. But here in one convenient volume is a remarkably extensive and well-chosen collection of clippings and excerpts which tell the history of the State in the words of those who made it or saw it in the making. Each selection is introduced by a brief explanation of its historical connection. There is a select bibliography, mostly of sources and monographs, and also an index.

In his culling, Mr. Lefler has covered the field, from Hakluyt's *Voyages* to Live-at-Home. The result is more live than the usual source book, in that it contains a much larger proportion of social, economic, and cultural material as compared with political documents. It naturally has all the patents and charters, Grand Models and Great Deeds, Mecklenburg Declarations and Resolves (take your choice), venerable constitutions, black codes, and the like; but it also has gander pullings, cock fightings, and church lotteries, log colleges, nog drinking, and prohibition. About one-third of the book is devoted entirely to social, economic, and cultural affairs, and these are liberally interspersed in the remainder with political matters.

The major divisions are as follows: "The Founding of North Carolina," "Social and Economic Conditions in the Colony," "Transition from Colony to Statehood," "The Independent State,"

"Education in North Carolina to 1860," "Social and Economic Problems of Ante-Bellum Days," "Ante-Bellum Economic Development," "The Negro in North Carolina Prior to 1860," "Four Years of Strife: The Civil War," "The Tragic Years of Reconstruction," "Rebuilding," and "Recent Years." Aside from state and federal documents, *Colonial and State Records* (the most widely used), the leading works quoted are: Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Lawson's *A New Voyage to Carolina*, Salley's *Narratives of Early Carolina*, Brickell's *Natural History of North Carolina*, Boyd's *Eighteenth Century Tracts concerning North Carolina*, Fries' *Records of the Moravians*, Janet Schaw's *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, *North Carolina Gazette* (colonial newspaper), *Trinity College Historical Papers*, *University of North Carolina Reprints*, Coon's compilations on education, *Raleigh Star, Register, Standard, Progressive Farmer, News and Observer*, the *Papers of Murphey and Ruffin*, *Phillips' Plantation and Frontier Documents*, Dowd's *Vance*, Connor and Poe's *Aycock*, Fleming's *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, and Hobbs' *North Carolina: Economic and Social*.

It is to be hoped that in future editions more material will be included on the recent period. Although the space devoted to the era since 1876 is about in proportion to the years covered, the importance of the period to contemporary students might warrant considerably more. However, the difficulties of selection in this field may be well understood. Much less has been done toward collecting and organizing such material, and most of it deals with matters inherently more difficult for the average student.

On the whole, Mr. Lefler has done a commendable job in a very commendable way.

ALEXANDER MATHEWS ARNETT.

THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,  
GREENSBORO.

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FROM FRONTIER TO PLANTATION IN TENNESSEE. By Thomas Perkins Abernethy. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1932. Pp. xiv, 392.)

Mr. Abernethy, an associate professor of history in the University of Virginia, has made a valuable contribution to the knowledge of a state whose history has been neglected by her

own sons and daughters. His interest, however, is not in Tennessee *per se*. He has sought an understanding of the development of democracy in the United States. He believes that this major development can be more readily understood, if the approach is from the study of a state, where "minute examination" is possible, than it can be if the approach is by way of the federal government, where "the field is too broad" and the contact of government directly with the lives of the people is too restricted. Tennessee serves him as "an admirable specimen" for a "type study."

With his attention thus centered on the problem of governmental control and governmental purposes, the author has undertaken to investigate certain selected phases of the history of Tennessee in the period between the arrival of the first squatters on the Watauga and the beginning of the Civil War. With many developments of significance, such as the building of railroads, the state debt, humanitarian reforms, the later phases of state banking, slavery and anti-slavery, he is not concerned. His brief summary of the quarter century preceding the Civil War is particularly disappointing.

Land speculation is his major theme; and in his consideration of the activities of the "land jobbers" he makes his most suggestive contributions to an appreciation of the influences which shaped the course of events. He is convinced that the men who controlled the state were motivated consciously by considerations of economic self-interest which were usually at variance with the interests of the masses of the people whom they skillfully misled. In his concluding paragraph he gives a concise summation of his studies: "Thus . . . from the Revolution to the War of Secession the government remained in the hands of a few. . . . Concessions had to be made from time to time; the people were gradually given the form and semblance of power, but . . . the few still ruled the many. At first they did it through their personal prestige, then through the demagogue, and finally through partisan organization. . . . This has been the evolution of our 'democracy.'"

To the reviewer it seems that the author has too frequently disregarded the work of others (that of Arthur P. Whitaker on the

Muscle Shoals Speculation and the Spanish Conspiracy, for example), that he has fallen too often into errors of detail, that he has made assumptions and drawn conclusions for the support of which he has presented insufficient evidence, and that he labors too obviously to explain the course of events in terms of a single motivating influence—that of land speculation. The complex structure which was Tennessee in 1861 was the result of many forces. This is not to deny the real worth of Professor Abernethy's book. It is stimulating, suggestive, and provocative. The reviewer hopes that other competent historians will dig more deeply into the records so that eventually it will be possible to picture in detail and in the whole this state of the early West and the border South.

PHILIP MAY HAMER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

The North Carolina Historical Commission receives requests for early numbers of the *North Carolina Manual*, *Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association*, the *North Carolina Booklet*, and the *North Carolina Day Program*. These publications are out of print. Anyone possessing duplicates is requested to send them to the secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C. The supply thus accumulated will be used to serve the cause of North Carolina history by filling gaps in the collections of libraries and students.

Back numbers of the *North Carolina Historical Review* may be secured from the secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission at the regular price of \$2 per volume, or 50 cents per number.

The Guilford County Committee, North Carolina Society of the Colonial Dames of America, unveiled a marker near Greensboro on March 22 at the site of the famous eighteenth century academy of David Caldwell. President Frank P. Graham of the University delivered the principal address.

The North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati held its annual meeting in Raleigh on April 12 in commemoration of the adoption of the Halifax Resolution by the Provincial Congress on April 12, 1776, which was the first explicit sanction of independence by an American colony. An appropriation of \$500 was made to the establishment of a James K. Polk Memorial in Mecklenburg, the county of his birth. The following officers of the Society were elected: president, John C. Daves, Baltimore; vice president, Ernest M. Green, Raleigh; secretary, Col. William Preston Wooten, Washington, D. C.; and treasurer, Joseph B. Cheshire, Raleigh.

On April 29 at Elizabethtown a portrait of the late Judge C. C. Lyon, the gift of a native of Bladen County, James D. Gilliam, was presented to the county. Judge Henry A. Grady of Clinton delivered the presentation address and Hector H. Clark accepted the portrait on behalf of the county.

The printed report for 1934 of the Wachovia Historical Society at Winston-Salem lists 64 life members and 142 annual members, records progress in classifying and displaying the museum collections, and projects for 1935 the survey and proper remarking of the graves of the first Wachovia settlers. Officers of the Society, which was organized in 1895 and incorporated in 1928, are: president, Rev. Douglas L. Rights; vice president, B. J. Pfohl; secretary, Mrs. Robert A. McCuiston; and treasurer, Ralph E. Spaugh. The Society maintains a museum at Salem Square, which is open to the public on stated occasions and by appointment.

On May 4, the *Twin City Sentinel* of Winston-Salem appeared in the form of a large fiftieth anniversary edition containing many pictures and articles dealing with the history of the city.

Dean W. W. Pierson, Jr., of the University Graduate School, is the author of "Foreign Influences on Venezuelan Political Thought, 1830-1930," in the February issue of *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, and of "The Plight of Education," in the March 9 issue of *School and Society*.

At a meeting held in the Cool Springs High School building at Forest City and presided over by County Historian Clarence Griffin, the Rutherford County Historical Association was organized on April 22, with twenty-seven charter members. The following officers were elected: president, M. L. Edwards, Rutherfordton; vice president, G. B. Howard of Spindale, Miss Logna Logan of Rutherfordton, and J. E. Bean of Ellenboro; secretary-treasurer, Clarence Griffin, Forest City; and publicity director, Arval L. Alcock, Forest City.

Governor J. C. B. Ehringhaus on May 10 announced the re-appointment of Justice Heriot Clarkson as a member of the North Carolina Historical Commission and the appointment of Mr. George McNeill of Fayetteville to succeed Miss Nell Battle Lewis, Dean J. M. McConnell of Davidson to succeed R. D. W. Connor, and Mr. J. Allan Dunn of Salisbury to succeed Mrs. Thomas O'Berry.

Dr. Joseph Moore McConnell, president of the State Literary and Historical Association and a member of the North Carolina Historical Commission, died suddenly at his home in Davidson on May 16. Dr. McConnell had been a member of the Davidson College faculty since 1905. At the time of his death he was professor of history and dean of the faculty. He was the author of *Southern Orators*, published in 1909.

Dr. A. R. Newsome, secretary of the Historical Commission, addressed the three women's book clubs of Reidsville on April 16, on the subject, "The Status of History in North Carolina."

Mrs. J. Walter Williamson of Wilmington was elected president of the North Carolina Society of the Colonial Dames of America at the meeting of the Society in Wilmington on May 8.

The Archæological Society of North Carolina held its spring meeting on May 4 at Goldsboro. There were talks or papers by Dr. Wallace E. Caldwell, Chapel Hill, Rev. Douglas L. Rights, Winston-Salem, Mr. William Irving Garis, Lyndhurst, N. J., and Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Chapel Hill. The Society issued in April the first number in the second volume of its mimeographed *Bulletin*. Dr. Caldwell is president and Dr. Johnson is secretary-treasurer of the Society.

The General Assembly of 1935 made appropriations of \$19,364 and \$17,849 for the North Carolina Historical Commission during the biennium beginning July 1. These figures for 1935-36 and 1936-37 represent increases of 77 per cent and 64 per cent respectively over the appropriation for 1934-35. The General Assembly enacted five laws which concern the Historical Commission. One of these laws empowers the Commission to accept gifts, bequests, and endowment for purposes which fall within the general legal powers and duties of the Commission. Another makes it the duty of any person who discovers Indian relics on publicly-owned land to report the discovery and to preserve the relics for the Historical Commission or the State Museum, and also makes it a misdemeanor for any person to excavate, remove, destroy, or sell any Indian relics from publicly-owned land without the written approval of the Historical Com-

mission or the State Museum. Another law validates a maximum annual expenditure of \$5,000 from the highway maintenance fund for the erection of historical markers along the public highways, the program to be carried out by the Historical Commission, the Highway Commission, and the Department of Conservation and Development. Another act of the Assembly makes it unlawful for any person to steal, disfigure, sell, buy or receive any book, document, portrait, or object belonging to any public library or museum of the State or to any department or office of the State or any local government or to any library or museum belonging to any incorporated educational institution, the offence to be a misdemeanor if the loss or damage does not exceed \$20 and a felony if in excess of \$20. The "Act to Safeguard Public Records in North Carolina" defines public records, fixes the legal responsibility for their care, prohibits the destruction, sale, loan, or other disposition of public records, requires all public officials to deliver all public records to their successors in office, requires legal custodians to demand their records from anyone having illegal possession of them, enjoins public officials to make their records available to the public and to keep them in fireproof safes or vaults, and empowers the North Carolina Historical Commission to examine into the condition of public records in the State and to give advice and assistance to public officials in the solution of their problems of preserving, filing, and making available the public records in their custody. Legislative and other opposition removed from the bill important provisions to insure the use of permanent paper and ink in the making of the most important classes of public records.

Prof. Holland Thompson of the College of the City of New York and Dr. A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, are visiting professors of history in the first summer school at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. Prof. H. T. Lefler of State College will teach in the second session.

Dr. A. R. Newsome, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission for the past nine years, has resigned the

secretaryship and accepted a professorship in American history and the headship of the history department in the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Dr. Charles Christopher Crittenden, assistant professor of history in the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, was elected secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission on May 14, to succeed Dr. A. R. Newsome, who resigned to accept the headship of the University department of history, effective July 1. Dr. Crittenden was born at Wake Forest in 1902 and holds the degrees of A.B. (1921) and M.A. (1922) from Wake Forest College and Ph.D. (1930) from Yale University. He is the author of several articles on North Carolina history and an unpublished volume, "The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789." He has been a member of the University faculty since 1926.

Acknowledgment is made of the receipt of the following publications: William Curry Harlee, *Kinfolks: A Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Volume 2 (New Orleans: Searcy & Pfaff, Ltd. 1935. Pp. 970-1950); Frederick Jackson Turner, *The United States, 1830-1850. The Nation and Its Sections* (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1935. Pp. ix, 602); Grace Lee Nute and Gertrude W. Ackermann, *Guide to the Personal Papers in the Manuscript Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1935. Pp. x, 146); Louis B. Ewbank and Dorothy L. Riker, *The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1809-1816* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau. 1934. Pp. xiv, 923); G. W. Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, Volume I (Wake Forest: Wake Forest College. 1935. Pp. viii, 681).

Prof. H. T. Lefler of North Carolina State College is author of "Hinton Rowan Helper, Advocate of a 'White America'," a 45-page study published by the Historical Publishing Company of Charlottesville, Va., as Number 1 of *Southern Sketches* under the general editorship of Dr. J. D. Eggleston, president of Hampden-Sydney College.

Noteworthy articles in recent publications are: D. H. Redfearn, "‘The Steamboat Home’—Presumption as to Order of Death in a Common Calamity" (*Florida Law Journal*, May); Philip M. Hamer, "Great Britain, the United States, and the Negro Seamen Acts, 1822-1848" (*The Journal of Southern History*, February); Laura A. White, "The South in the 1850's as Seen by British Consuls" (*ibid.*); Charles S. Sydnor, "The Beginning of Printing in Mississippi" (*ibid.*); William B. Hesseltine, "The Propaganda Literature of Confederate Prisons" (*ibid.*); Wheaton J. Lane, "Water Transportation in Colonial New Jersey" (*Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, April); Samuel M. Wilson, "West Fincastle—Now Kentucky" (*The Filson Club Quarterly*, April); Arthur G. Peterson, "Flour and Grist Milling in Virginia" (*The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, April); Allen Tate, "The Profession of Letters in the South" (*The Virginia Quarterly Review*, April); Gerald W. Johnson, "The Horrible South" (*ibid.*); J. J. Spengler, "Malthusianism and the Debate on Slavery" (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, April).

Dr. Archibald Henderson is the author of a series of North Carolina historical articles, published in the Sunday editions of the *Raleigh News and Observer* and other state papers on the following subjects and dates: Washington and North Carolina, March 3, 10, and April 14; Martin Howard, March 17; Lafayette's visit in 1825, March 24; the Osborne family, March 31; the Carolina militia at Guilford Courthouse, April 7; Transylvania, April 28; the fishing industry in North Carolina, May 5; Stephen Lee Ferrand, May 12; Major Stede Bonnet, May 19.

Recent accessions to the manuscript collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission include nearly 3,100 letters and papers added to the Calvin J. Cowles Papers; 49 letters and papers, 1811-1923, added to the C. B. Heller Collection; the Alonzo T. and Millard Mial Papers consisting of 2,409 letters and papers, 1852-97, and several newspapers, pamphlets, and account books, presented by Mr. Carl Williamson, Raleigh; Mrs. Mary R. Scott Papers, 1750-1859, 12 pieces; the Richard D.

White Collection of 584 letters and papers, 1751-1929, and two account books; and the E. I. Sawyer Papers, 127 manuscripts, 1832-1914, and one account book, 1832-36.

Prof. M. B. Garrett of the University has been granted a subsidy by the American Historical Association to facilitate the publication of his monograph on the French Revolution.

Prof. C. C. Pearson of Wake Forest College is teaching in the University of Virginia summer school and Mr. C. P. West is spending the summer in Italy. The Wake Forest library is being enriched in early Americana through the coöperation of a committee of the American Historical Association.

The Transylvanians, a patriotic society founded in 1929, is arranging a celebration to be held at Boonesborough, Ky., on October 12. Other patriotic societies and the governors of Kentucky, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee will assist in the celebration, which will memorialize five historic events in the movement of western expansion: the founding of the Transylvania Company at Hillsborough, N. C., January 6, 1775; the treaty of Sycamore Shoals, March 14-17, 1775, by which the company acquired from the Cherokee Indians nearly twenty million acres of land located in the present states of Tennessee and Kentucky; the cutting of the Transylvania Trail from Long Island of Holston River in Tennessee to Otter Creek, Ky., site of later Boonesborough; the convening of the legislature of Transylvania at Boonesborough on May 23, 1775; and the founding of Transylvania and Boonesborough in April-May, 1775. This year is the bicentennial of the birth of Richard Henderson, president of the Transylvania Company, on April 20, 1735. Plans are under way to unveil four large tablets on the site of the meeting of the legislature, bearing the names of the proprietors of Transylvania, the names of the axemen who cut the Trail, the names of the officials and legislators of Transylvania, and a design in relief representing the legislature in session. The complete execution of the plans is dependent upon the generosity of interested friends. Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University

of North Carolina is president, Miss Susan S. Towles of Henderson, Ky., is secretary, and Mrs. William Neel of Henderson, Ky., is treasurer, of The Transylvanians.

A new department of Political Science has been authorized at the University of North Carolina, with Dean W. W. Pierson, Jr., as acting head. Dean Pierson and Professors E. J. Woodhouse, K. C. Frazer, C. B. Robson, W. S. Jenkins, P. W. Wager, and a new professor of public administration will be the instructional staff.

The Duke University history department in June awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy in history to William David McCain, Ludwell Lee Montague, Louis A. Nolan, and Gustave Adolph Nuermberger. Professor J. Fred Rippy will be on sabbatical leave for the next academic year. Miss Annie May Williford, A.B., Barnard, A.M., Columbia, Duke graduate student for two years, and David K. McCarrell, A.B., Washington and Jefferson, A.M., Duke, have been added to next year's instructional staff as part-time instructors. Appointments for next year as fellows, assistants, and scholars in history have been made to the following: W. C. Askew, Hamilton, Ga.; R. W. Barnwell, Columbus, Miss.; W. F. Beck, Columbus, O.; J. K. Bettersworth, Jackson, Miss.; W. P. Dale, Shelbyville, Ky.; C. S. Davis, Mobile, Ala.; Alma Pauline Foerster, Holyoke, Mass.; A. R. Hall, Miami, Okla.; W. B. Hamilton, Jackson, Miss.; A. J. Henderson, Rochester, N. Y.; and R. E. MacNicholl, Hollywood, Fla.

Fellowships in history and political science at the University of North Carolina for next year have been awarded to E. O. Watson, John Alexander McGeachy, Jr., and Alexander T. Edelman.

Mrs. W. S. Bernard of Chapel Hill, president of the North Carolina division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, died on May 29.

The Wayne County Committee of the Colonial Dames of America unveiled a marker on the site of Dobbs County courthouse on Walnut Creek near Goldsboro on June 12. Dr. A. R. Newsome of Raleigh delivered the historical address.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. Marvin Lucian Skaggs is a professor of history in Campbell College, Buies Creek, N. C.

Dr. Edd Winfield Parks is a professor of English in the Banners Elk School of English, Banners Elks, N. C. He will teach in the University of Georgia next year.

Miss Elizabeth Gregory McPherson is employed in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## GEOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES IN THE HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA

By BEN FRANKLIN LEMERT

The history of North Carolina is one of continuous effort at adaptation to an heterogeneous array of environmental influences. Location with respect to the prevailing wind direction and the Gulf Stream influenced the first attempts of English people to settle the State. Location, topography, climate, and soil discouraged attempts at settlement of the coastal area. Location and topography exerted profound influences in the settlement of the State via neighboring colonies. Environmental factors have always produced influences preventing homogeneity of thought and activities within the State's boundaries. Geographic, human, and economic influences which combined to keep North Carolina an agricultural state prior to 1880, coördinated just as strongly to influence its industrial development in the years that followed.

### SETTLEMENT

The cold northeastern section of North America lies closest to Europe. Its climate and poor rocky soil offered little inducement for permanent settlement by people accustomed to moderate marine climate. The Northeast Trade Winds carried Latin settlers to southern North America and the South American continent. English seamen became familiar with the trade-wind route when they began to sell slaves to the Spanish colonists and later during their raids upon Spanish commerce. Returning from the Tropics to England, these same raiders made use of the Gulf Stream and Prevailing Westerlies Route along the southeastern coast of North America. By these journeys the English became somewhat familiar with the climate and coast line of what is now the southeastern part of the United States.

During the 16th century England was badly overcrowded for that period of economic development. The Spanish and French were pursuing territorial expansion in the New World. Following the loss of Calais in 1557 and the disappearance of their last hope for territorial gains in Europe, the English turned their attention westward.<sup>1</sup>

The first attempts at settlement of what is now North Carolina were made from the Atlantic side between the years 1584 and 1590. The three attempts, made upon the sandy islands which fringe North Carolina's ocean front, failed. North Carolina juts into the Atlantic Ocean a greater distance than any other portion of the North American continent between Florida and the Maryland-Delaware-Virginia peninsula. This causes storms which whirl out of the West Indies and the Caribbean to pass close to North Carolina's shores on their way to the North Atlantic, making it one of the most dangerous coasts on the eastern side of the continent. During past geologic time, when the Atlantic Coast subsided, the coastal portions of Maryland and Virginia sank farther beneath the ocean than did those of the states to the southward. Virginia and Maryland were crossed by strong rivers which had cut deep channels down to the Atlantic. These river valleys, sinking beneath the sea, afforded deep waterways far into the interior. North Carolina had no such deep rivers and her shallow coast line resulted in sand bars being formed off her coasts where the incoming waves of the sea first broke in their race landward. These bars inclosed large areas of shallow waters along the coast forming sounds capable of navigation by shallow boats, but almost completely barring entry from the sea.

The rainfall along this coast is from fifty to sixty inches annually, and the soil is chiefly sand. Where not too low the drainage is excessive and such areas resemble a desert of sand. Where the drainage is not excessive it usually reaches the other extreme and results in bays, pocosins, and swamps containing soil mixed with large quantities of vegetable matter. These areas are of slight use unless drained.

<sup>1</sup> Semple, E. C., and Jones, C. F., *American History and its Geographic Conditions* (Revised Edition. Houghton Mifflin Co., N. Y., 1933), pp. 10-21.

It was in such a region that Amadas and Barlowe first landed in 1584, when they used Roanoke Island as their base from which to carry on exploration. They found this island "abounding with game and containing many trees of pine, cypress, sassafras and lentish." Wild game and timber disappear quickly upon the encroachment of sedentary people.

The first attempt at settlement by the group under Captain Lane in 1585 found similar conditions. Lane reported favorably of the region, but in the same report stated that "it will be the most sweet and healthful climate and therewithal the most fertile soil (being manured) in the world." In the same report he describes a narrow escape from starvation while exploring the lower part of the Roanoke River. All members of this expedition returned to England at the first opportunity.

The second attempt at settlement left fifteen men who perished before the third attempt took place. In 1587 over one hundred men and women settled upon Roanoke Island. Three years later all had disappeared. An interesting feature in the accounts of attempts at settlement is the frequent loss of ships due to hurricanes sweeping along the coast. Hurricanes still frequently destroy ships along this deserted coast.<sup>2</sup>

The region could never have supported an incoming tide of immigrants. Even today most of the counties bordering this section are sparsely populated. The small portion of land that is used consists of the richer swamp-land soils made profitable by good transportation of truck crops to the consuming markets in the North. People in pioneering regions seldom find it profitable to adopt intensive cultivation and methods of conservation.

Location of North Carolina between the colonies of Virginia and South Carolina with no good seaport meant that settlement of the colony must come via neighboring colonies for the most part. Topography guided its course.

On the west lies the broadest section of the Blue Ridge Mountains, a range of old complex crystalline structure extending from northern Georgia in a northeasterly direction to south central Pennsylvania. West of this range is a lowland area known as the Great Appalachian Valley. This trough extends from cen-

<sup>2</sup> Hawks, Francis L., *History of North Carolina*, I, 69-254.

tral Alabama to the Hudson River in New York. To the west of the Great Valley is the eastern escarpment of the Appalachian Plateau towering above the valley and making access to the interior of the continent feasible by only a few openings.

East of the Blue Ridge the Piedmont Plateau extends from southeastern Pennsylvania to central Alabama, reaching its greatest width in North Carolina. It covers an area approximately 150 miles wide through the central portion of the State. East of the Piedmont lies the Coastal Plain. This physiographic feature extends from the vicinity of New York City down the eastern side of the continent, reaching a width of 125 miles as it crosses North Carolina. The whole territory east of the Blue Ridge slopes toward the southeast and its streams flow in the same direction.

On the north, the Roanoke River rises in the Great Valley in Virginia, cuts through the Blue Ridge at Roanoke and enters North Carolina about ten miles northeast of Warrenton, pursuing a southeasterly course into Albemarle Sound. The Tar and the Neuse rivers flow southeasterly from the Piedmont to Pamlico Sound, while the Cape Fear, North Carolina's only major stream with a debouchment into the Atlantic within the State, also rises in the Piedmont and enters the Atlantic in the southeastern corner of the State. The other two major streams of North Carolina, the Yadkin and the Catawba, rise in the Blue Ridge, flow eastward across the Piedmont, then turn southward and reach the Atlantic in South Carolina. There they become known as the Peedee and Wateree, respectively.

The Coastal Plain portion of the State is smooth but gently sloping toward the southeast. Its soils consist of Norfolk sandy loams in the better-drained portions. These soils, after lying idle for thousands of years, must have been very productive for the first settlers. The Piedmont consists of smoothly rounded hills, slight valleys with small bottom area, and soils of the type known as Cecil, sandy loams and clay loams. These soils are not as productive as the Norfolk soils, but are capable of producing good crops for a reasonable amount of effort and careful handling.

Since the mouth of the James River gave the best access to the land north of the region of the Carolinas, this area was rapidly settled. As new settlers arrived, as indentured servants completed their contracts, and as debtors and criminals from England landed at the mouth of the James, they had to spread out farther and farther into the interior in search of unoccupied lands. A short distance south of Norfolk several streams rise and flow toward Albemarle Sound. The land is smooth and the soil is rich. Many settlers poured into this region of North Carolina, following along the streams, always looking backward to Virginia and Norfolk as an outlet for their products and as a source of their supplies. These settlers spread down around the Albemarle and across toward the Tar and Neuse rivers.<sup>3</sup>

From the south came settlers via the Cape Fear. First attempts at establishing colonies around the mouth of the Cape Fear resulted similarly to those attempts in the vicinity of Roanoke Island. A group of New Englanders failed to complete an establishment in the region due to their efforts at utilization of the lands for grazing, as they had been accustomed in New England. In 1664, a year after the New Englanders had departed, a group of Englishmen from Barbados settled Charles-towne at the junction of Old Town Creek with the Cape Fear. These people, too, failed to adapt themselves to a region of warm, moist climate and sandy soil. By 1667 they had departed for the more favorable areas in the vicinity of what later became Charleston, South Carolina.<sup>4</sup> It remained for the Scotch-Irish and the Scottish Highlanders to establish permanent settlements, and here, too, geographic influences worked indirectly toward the peopling of North Carolina.

The Scottish Highlanders formerly had lived in the bleak, cold, granitic highlands of Scotland. There, due to isolation, they had established clans highly independent of outside regions. Refusing submission to English rule, they were severely defeated by the English at the Battle of Culloden. Many left Scotland to settle in the New World. Following this, development of the sheep industry in Scotland deprived many tenants of their

<sup>3</sup> Hawks, Francis L., *History of North Carolina*, II, 69-71, 83, 84-85, 86-89.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 83-85, 460.

lands, beggars and criminals multiplied, and those who were able went to North America. Many of the Scots who inhabited the lowlands of Scotland were likewise thrown out of employment due to competition with the Irish linen industry. These swelled the ranks of the Scots on their way westward.<sup>5</sup>

The Scots landed at the mouth of the Cape Fear River. Between 1735 and 1775 over 20,000 of these people established themselves on the upper reaches of that stream in the vicinity of what is now known as Fayetteville, then called Campbellton. Other settlers consisting of English and Scotch-Irish and Welsh settled between the Cape Fear and the Neuse.

Environmental influences likewise drove the Scotch-Irish from northern Ireland. These people formerly lived in the lowlands of Scotland, having been moved to northern Ireland after trouble between the Irish and the English. Ireland, due to its location, endures a cool, moist climate where people must bolster their agricultural subsistence by some method of manufacture. The Scotch-Irish raised sheep, wove woolen cloth, and competed in England with similar English manufactures. The English, by taxes and embargoes, practically ruined the Scotch-Irish industry, and another source of large migrations to America was created.

Many of these people landed at Charleston, thousands of others disembarked at New York and Philadelphia. Topographical features guided them to North Carolina. From Charleston the Scotch-Irish spread up into the Piedmont and Coastal Plain via the Catawba-Wateree and Yadkin-Peedee rivers.<sup>6</sup>

The Scotch-Irish landing at New York and Philadelphia found all the lands in the immediate vicinity occupied. The price of land in the populated sections was too high for them to purchase. The only land for sale at a cheap price was to be obtained in small parcels from Indians along the frontier, and these were quickly taken.

Passage to the regions west of the Appalachians via the Hudson and Mohawk-Ontario lowland was blocked by the Iroquois Indian nations. Passage over the Allegheny front range in the

<sup>5</sup> Boyd, W. K., *Some 18th Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina* (North Carolina Historical Commission, 1927), pp. 419-425.

<sup>6</sup> Ashe, Samuel A., *History of North Carolina*, I, 213-254, 266, 276.

direction of what is now Pittsburgh was blocked by hostile French and Indians and the route was tedious. These people followed the only route open to them—the Great Valley. Along this natural highway they passed through southern Pennsylvania, down the Cumberland Valley, and through the Shenandoah Valley to the openings in the Blue Ridge where the Roanoke carves its way eastward. While some doubtless passed through numerous wind gaps of the Blue Ridge between the Potomac and the Roanoke, their number could not have been large, for land was held in huge estates in Virginia at that time and was relatively high in price. The bulk of the Scotch-Irish poured through the Roanoke Gap, out over southwestern Virginia and down into western and northern Piedmont North Carolina.

The Pennsylvania Dutch (Germans) were not far behind the Scotch-Irish in their settlement of the Carolina hills. A pacifist Quaker government which would not help the frontiersmen protect themselves against the French and Indians started the movement of these people. They, augmented in number by the German immigrants entering the country at Philadelphia, were guided on their journey to North Carolina by the same great natural highway that witnessed the passage of the Scotch-Irish, the Great Appalachian Valley. We may go back farther to the homeland of these people and find environmental influences driving them, too, to seek new homes. The Germans were but one group from a region where lack of knowledge of improved agricultural methods and of intensive manufacture had held means of subsistence at a standstill while population increased. Lack of subsistence resulted in unbalanced economic conditions and political disturbance. Many of the German refugees found haven in England, whence they were sent to America.<sup>7</sup>

A second group of Germans known as the Moravians settled a tract of 98,985 acres in the Piedmont east of the Yadkin River in 1753. The Germans, Scotch-Irish, and Irish chose their lands in the new country with reference to the lands from whence they came. The Germans chose meadows and woodlands resembling

<sup>7</sup> Ashe, Samuel A., *History of North Carolina*, p. 277; Faust, A. B., *The German Element in the United States* (Houghton Mifflin Co., N. Y., 1909), I, 129-131, 230.

the country in upper Germany; the Scotch-Irish and Irish had lived in a region of windward coast marine climate where much rainfall caused many streams. These people preferred to settle in the river valleys, anywhere to be near a stream.<sup>8</sup> In this section the Piedmont approaches the foothills of the Blue Ridge, the climate is cooler than that of the Coastal Plain, and grass grows well. General farming was the most economic procedure. By 1775, at least 15,000 Germans had set up their establishments in this new territory, carrying on their work on small farms, organized into units, and manufacturing much of their necessities.

#### HUMAN ACTIVITIES

Geographic influences guided the peopling of North Carolina. The same influences moulded their thought, economic activities, and governmental policies.

The lands of the Coastal Plain were smooth, the soil productive, and the individual holdings large. The climate permitted the growth of rice, indigo, cotton, and tobacco, and the manufacture of naval stores. In all these activities slave labor was advantageous. The settlers lived on their large plantations and the Negroes did the work. The white children were either sent abroad or educated privately. Even the Negroes were not of the best type, for they had to be purchased in Norfolk or Charleston, where the prices included heavy taxes and necessitated the North Carolinians' accepting picked-over Negro groups. The transportation of the Coastal Plain was chiefly by streams or short rough roads over which tobacco hogsheads could be rolled to a wharf. The people built their own little boats which would carry their products out to Norfolk, Wilmington, and Beaufort. New England traders came to the shores in small craft with which they could navigate the bars and trade for their products. There was little need for overland transportation.

The people of the Piedmont lived upon small farms, their agricultural activities were mostly of the subsistence type, and their one marketable product, wheat, brought little return, for there was slight demand for it at home or abroad. Such economy had little place for Negro slaves. The farmers looked to

<sup>8</sup> Faust, A. B., *op. cit.*, I, 132-138, 231-232, 358.

Philadelphia, Norfolk, Petersburg, and Charleston for such markets as they had, and were interested in building good roads for overland transportation.<sup>9</sup> These people could not afford to send their children to Europe or hire private teachers to instruct them. They urged some common system of education. Their success in fighting for a living in a region of relatively meagre resources, which in those days was far removed from intercourse with the mother country, also fostered in them a spirit of independence which was little understood by the people of the Coastal Plain to the east.<sup>10</sup>

Topography of the Coastal Plain favored large land holdings and facilitated the accumulation of wealth. In the Piedmont it tended to limit the size of farms and render more difficult the accumulation of surpluses. The royal governor lived among the influences of the Coastal Plain and many rulings and laws were promulgated that were in direct opposition to the interests of the Piedmont. Such an unsatisfactory government, due chiefly to different environmental influences, led to the Regulator movement and culminated in the Battle of Alamance in 1771. The Regulators were defeated, but the environmental influences still prevailed. Further developments under these conditions were prevented by the necessity for common coöperation due to the approaching Revolution and the years that followed.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES AND THE REVOLUTION

Geographic influences affected the history of North Carolina during the Revolution as they affected the entire thirteen colonies. North Carolina, due to its inaccessibility by sea and its position between other colonies which were accessible, may be considered as one of the most remote colonies. George II died October 5th, 1760; but George III was not proclaimed in North Carolina until February 6th, 1761. The effect of this remoteness may be further illustrated by the fact that several rebellions had already occurred in the colony years before the Revolution.

In 1677 the people of Albemarle rebelled against taxation and imposition of a state church. In 1688 the colonists seized Gov-

<sup>9</sup> Boyd, W. K., "Neglected Phases of North Carolina History," *Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission*. Bulletin No. 12, 1912, p. 47.

<sup>10</sup> Moore, John W., *History of North Carolina*, I, 77.

ernor Sothel and expelled him from the province for one year and from the governorship for all time. In 1729 the Lords Proprietors, due to having had so much trouble with the province, sold all but the northern part of it, to the Crown. The rebellion of the Regulators has already been mentioned. The people of Mecklenburg County took steps to institute self-government independent of England in the Mecklenburg Resolves of May 31, 1775. The Fourth Provincial Congress at Halifax, April 12, 1776, instructed the delegates of the colony in the Continental Congress to concur with delegates of the other colonies in declaring independence.<sup>11</sup> Remoteness from the governing agency fostered independence in a pioneering region where to be independent meant survival.

Prior to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the colonies were located in such a position that concentration was automatic, not humanly directed. Coöperative action can be secured only from a group of relatively dense concentration. Sparsely scattered peoples have never been able to develop a spirit of coöperation. Topography guided this concentration. As the English people settled the Atlantic seaboard they were held back from spreading over the great interior of the continent by the same factors which prevented the Germans and the Scotch-Irish from settling the Ohio Valley. The Cherokees, Creeks, and other powerful Indian tribes stood in the way of any encroachment around the southern end of the Appalachians. England's colonists were forced to settle rather closely upon a narrow strip of the Atlantic seaboard between the mountains and the sea. Nearness resulted in a certain intermingling of peoples and ideas. This mingling built up a singleness of purpose and a degree of homogeneity of thought and action. While their settlement might be classed as scattered when viewed from the angle of commercial intercourse, settlers moved great distances through the colonies despite enormous difficulties. The common danger threatened in the form of British oppression must have greatly increased intercommunication, for a common danger drives a people to overcome physical barriers.

The English colonists were automatically trained to some de-

<sup>11</sup> Hawks, Francis L., *History of North Carolina*, I, 518.

gree of coöperation, yet their territory was deep enough to allow colonial armies to retreat beyond the zone of safety for the pursuing British. Distance in a time of poor transportation and communication served as an ally of the pursued. A strong influence causing the British to reach the conclusion that their domination of the colonists was hopeless was the fact that they realized they could never bring them out into the open where they could be placed under reasonable control.

Cornwallis's invasion of the southeast, including North Carolina, cut far into the interior, but distance from seaboard and supplies and the fact that the resistance he met concerned itself chiefly with destroying his available supplies, soon forced him to retreat toward the sea. The regions he conquered resumed their independent status upon his departure.

The inherent nature of the environment was one of the greatest aids to the colonists in their struggle for freedom. Had they been spread over a vast territory as were the French, they could never have united closely enough to resist any reasonably strong force.

#### CONFLICTING ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES BETWEEN 1790 AND 1860

Following the Revolution, the history of North Carolina abounds with instances of disagreements between the people of the Coastal Plain and those of the Piedmont. Except for a few favorable and accessible valleys such as those of the Watauga and the French Broad, little was heard from the mountainous section. The people of the Plain fought politically against the schools and roads for which the Piedmont strove. Other states began to attract attention of emigrants and to build great arteries of trade. In North Carolina, lumbering wagons, traversing roads which became almost impassable in winter, were the only means of land transportation. While money was voted for internal improvements and for some sort of educational system, the efforts failed. For fifty years following the Revolution the internal strife between the East and the West colored the movements of her politicians to such an extent that everything was

second in importance to the victory of either section politically.<sup>12</sup> Her people had been so long engaged in their sectional feud that no one knew how to raise or handle money for improvements; no one knew how to carry out the preparation and actual work on the improvements. No one knew how to conserve money appropriated for educational purposes; and if they had, there was a dearth of instructors to do the teaching.

The agricultural system followed since the beginning of settlement had been one of exploitation and abandonment. The red and yellow earths of the South Atlantic region are productive if handled carefully, because their structure under such circumstances is conducive to predigestion of the plant foods for such crops as are sown in them.<sup>13</sup> However, as long as it is possible to get new land cheaply it is hard to get the user of such land to see the necessity or economy of scientific fertilization of his soils. In a region where there is so little resting period for the soil throughout the year, where rainfall is fairly constant and heavy, the soils soon lose all power of reproduction, become acidic, the colloids deflocculate and the mass becomes inert. Lime will correct this condition if the destruction has not been carried too far. After the lime has remedied the structure, the necessary plant foods may be introduced to the soil and the process of preparing them for plant consumption will begin again.

The farmers of North Carolina, like those of the other Southern states from Maryland southward, knew nothing of such matters and cared less. They wasted their lands and abandoned them. After a century of such procedure there was no more land to exploit. As early as 1648 planters south of the Charles River in Virginia complained of worn-out soils.<sup>14</sup> While abundance of new land was one of the factors responsible for this land exploitation and ruination, the nature of the crops raised must not be overlooked. The kind of crops depends not only upon the type of soils, but upon what can be produced and carried to a market where there will be a demand. The farmers

<sup>12</sup> Boyd, W. K., *History of North Carolina*, II, Chapter 5.

<sup>13</sup> Wolfanger, L. A., *Major Soil Divisions of the United States* (John Wiley & Sons, N. Y., 1930), pp. 24, 88, 89, 108.

<sup>14</sup> Craven, Avery O., "Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860," *Univ. of Illinois: Studies in Social Sciences*, No. 13, 1925, pp. 44-61.

of the Coastal Plain raised rice, tobacco, some cotton, and manufactured naval stores. Corn and some wheat were produced for subsistence. Those of the Piedmont depended chiefly upon wheat and some tobacco and cotton. Tobacco was the chief money supplier of much of the region. Under such environmental influences any one-crop system which would bring in money would be adopted.

In 1793 the cotton gin was invented, making it possible to put cotton in shape for the market on a far larger scale than had ever been contemplated. Prior to that time the spinning jenny and the power loom had been perfected in England and were soon installed in New England. The great interior of the United States was being settled. All over the world demand for cotton cloth was increasing; the price remained stable or increased.<sup>15</sup> In the South, with its favorable soils, its long growing season, and its thunder-shower type of rainfall, geographic conditions are the best for cotton cultivation the world has ever found. Negro slaves furnished the cheap labor which otherwise would have been too dear to permit such occupation to so great an extent. North Carolina, with other sections, turned to cotton. She produced cotton, some corn for subsistence, and purchased most of the manufactures needed from the colder regions of the North and from England. She sold her product at the bottom price, for it was a raw material; and bought her necessities at the highest price, for they embraced all human activities between production and consumption. It eventually proved a losing game, but the early profits were large.

An agricultural community has little need of large concentrations of population and the growth of towns was slow. The towns that were established consisted of groupings of traders requiring little in the way of extraneous services. Their growth was limited by the immediate local hinterlands they served. The rice culture of the Coastal Plain was superseded by the more profitable cotton. Indigo had been displaced by synthetic dyes. Cotton and corn and tobacco became the crops of the Coastal Plain and the eastern and southern Piedmont. The

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<sup>15</sup> Lemert, Ben F., *The Cotton Textile Industry of the Southern Appalachian Piedmont* (Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1933), pp. 18-31.

farmer of the northern Piedmont raised tobacco, while in the Piedmont sections where tobacco and cotton could not be raised profitably the land produced but a bare subsistence.

Cotton and tobacco are not soil exhausters if the soil is handled properly. The soil was not so handled. Soil exhaustion and lack of new lands to cultivate began to have a disastrous effect upon North Carolina. Tobacco cultivation and soil exhaustion had already caused havoc in the agriculture of the far better situated states to the north, Maryland and Virginia. New lands to the west, new cotton lands to the southwest, and hopeless futurity at home had long been driving out generations of the best stock of those states. North Carolina experienced the same conditions.<sup>16</sup>

Such conditions had already produced men who began to think of a remedy. John Taylor had been the forerunner of agricultural economists in Virginia, and his work was carried to far more efficient stages by Edmund Ruffin.<sup>17</sup> In North Carolina such men as Dr. Ebenezer Emmons, Archibald D. Murphy, John Sherwood, J. F. Tompkins, and others sought to stay the emigration and the disastrous effects of soil exhaustion.<sup>18</sup>

New methods of agriculture are slow of adoption. The farmer is an independent individual, conservative due to the nature of his occupation. Experiments in agriculture require years to reach a climax. Where the margin between subsistence and failure is small, the individual farmer cannot, or is afraid to, take a chance. It is not surprising that it was nearly thirty years after new methods in agriculture had been advocated before their adoption was widespread enough to show results. In that period of thirty years thousands of young men and young women, those who had enough ambition and enough money to seek their fortunes elsewhere, left the South Atlantic States. At times such emigration almost assumed the nature of a retreat. Its result meant that those who remained tended to divide into two classes—those who were too comfortably situated to leave, and those who were too poor and too lacking in energy and am-

<sup>16</sup> Craven, Avery O., *op. cit.*, pp. 124-159.

<sup>17</sup> Craven, Avery O., *Edmund Ruffin, Southerner* (D. Appleton Co., N. Y., 1932), pp. 51-56.

<sup>18</sup> Boyd, W. K., *History of North Carolina*, I, 100-101, 151, 331-332.

bition to leave. There was a wide gulf between the two strata of society, and the Negro slave did the work. In North Carolina sporadic efforts to remedy conditions and establish a balance between agriculture and manufacturing cropped up during this period. The effort, however, must have been slight, because in 1860, while the State had thirty-nine textile mills, their combined output was valued at \$1,046,047, or approximately \$26,800 each, annually. Prices for flour and all other food and clothing products in the State were abnormally high throughout the period.<sup>19</sup> It seems that a great opportunity stood awaiting development of manufacturing at that time, yet methods of manufacture were but slightly understood and the incentive had to come from the upper class, which may have been so well off that it did not find it necessary to embark upon a new venture.

### THE CIVIL WAR

Geographic influences in the South were ideal for upland cotton, slave labor was almost a necessity, and foreign manufactures were economically desirable. Geographic influences in New England were inimical to agriculture and the use of slaves and favored manufacturing. Prohibition of importation of slaves into America had cut off a lucrative trade from New England. As long as business adventures are profitable men are liable to overlook moral issues. Let the source of profit be stopped, and the same men who have built up fortunes from the industry are apt to reflect upon the errors of their ways and change their moral outlook overnight.

The New Englanders were able to sway the sentiment of the Middle West to opposition to slavery and gain its support for concentrated action against the South. The issue was a moral one on its face, but it must not be forgotten that the South presented a market for their manufactures, once political means of preventing its supply from Europe were obtained. Environmental influences were on the side of the New Englander in his endeavors. His cold climate and rocky soil and rough topography had not only driven him to manufacturing, but had driven many of his fellow men westward in search of better lands.

<sup>19</sup> Boyd, W. K., *op. cit.*, II, 337-338.

These men took the political theories of their homeland with them. The very nature of the region into which they migrated encouraged diversified agriculture in which there was slight place for slave labor.

These same environmental influences led the South into war, a region undeveloped for manufacturing and largely undeveloped for means of subsistence. They led the North into war well prepared for manufacturing and equally able to maintain its subsistence needs. The climax convinced the people of the South that such a predicament must be forever removed, and that conviction is one of the factors balancing heavily upon the side of industrial history in North Carolina.<sup>20</sup>

Geographic influences affected vitally the history of the Civil War and the history of North Carolina during that war. Maryland could not have joined the Confederacy because of the Union soldiers defending Washington. Location of Washington and Richmond, the opposing capitals, concentrated much of the military activities in Virginia. Location of the Potomac and the Chesapeake gave the Union troops a route to the mouths of the west-to-east flowing rivers of Virginia. The location and direction of the Great Appalachian Valley with its gaps through the Blue Ridge gave the Confederate troops a direct route into the North. The position of the rivers of Virginia meant that the banks of these streams were usually battle grounds. Lee's failure to recognize the importance of the topography on the battlefield of Gettysburg resulted in the failure of the South's supreme thrust at the North.<sup>21</sup> The location of the river valleys of the Middle West and the Chattanooga and Cumberland gaps afforded natural highways for the invasion of the South by Union troops, once the way was cleared. The seaboard cities of the Southern states were protected by their prevailing location at the inner end of deep estuaries or bays, guarded by island fortifications at the entrance and usually by swamps on the land side. Beaufort, North Carolina, occupied an exposed position. New Bern on the

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<sup>20</sup> Lemert, Ben F., *op. cit.*, Chapter 2.

<sup>21</sup> Johnson, Douglas, *Bluebook of the Geological Field Excursion from New York to Gettysburg* (Columbia University Press, 1926), pp. 22-26.

Neuse and New Orleans were the exceptions in their inability to repel invasion.<sup>22</sup>

Lack of subsistence for men and beasts and lack of manufacturing facilities for the repair of transportation equipment were heavy factors in the exhaustion of the Confederate armies. While the South had not been a producer of subsistence for men, its climate and soil had prevented the growth of grass and the breeding of draught animals in the South Atlantic region. Such men as Ruffin of Virginia had urged the production of forage crops, but where soil exhaustion rules and one-crop agriculture is its evil genius, men cannot afford to take hazards and undergo the delays of grass cultivation and stock breeding. When the Federal troops overran the horse and mule breeding basins in Kentucky and Tennessee the Confederate armies were cut off from a fresh supply of animals then so necessary for transport equipment. Inability to procure hay from the North and its unprecedented price of \$25 per hundredweight sadly handicapped the Southern armies. As early as 1863 men were constantly falling out of ranks, their mounts too weak to carry them.<sup>23</sup>

#### RESULTS OF BETTER ADAPTATION TO ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES

The history of North Carolina following the Civil War might have been parallel to that prior to the War, that of an agricultural state, but it must be remembered that while geographic influences remain relatively stable, man is continually progressing. His adaptation to those influences and his use of environmental factors are continually in a state of flux. This is the reason why history may repeat itself, but the degree of repetition and the character of the repetition vary widely.

Following the Civil War, cotton prices were high and North Carolina with the other Southern states quickly turned to its growth as a method of recouping finances. Agriculture again threatened to assume sway over economic affairs, for geographic influences—climate, soil and topography, and the human resource, the Negro labor—remained as they were before the war.

<sup>22</sup> Sample, E. C., and Jones, C. F., *American History and its Geographic Conditions*, Revised Edition, Chapter 14.

<sup>23</sup> Craven, Avery O., *Edmund Ruffin, Southerner*, pp. 246-248.

However, an economic force, saturated markets, began to rear its head shortly after the war. Cotton production was increasing year by year and prices as steadily maintained a downward trend which lasted for more than forty years. Men continued their movement out of the State. It was becoming impossible to make a living. The number of poor whites was greatly increased by the wartime destruction. Those who had money could find no means for profitable investment.

The war, brought on indirectly by geographic influences, had demonstrated the need of industrial development. Human influences made easier the attainment of this need. The automatic loom and the ring spindle were invented and better ways of humidification developed. No longer was it necessary to develop high skill in the spinning and weaving of cloth. Where inventions heretofore had only added to the agricultural grip upon the South, these later inventions made it possible to use the great body of impoverished whites.

Thus geographic, economic, and human influences combined to promote the beginning of the industrial history of the South, and North Carolina in particular. The increased number of new textile mills was very noticeable by 1880. Everything was ripe for such industrial development. Never before had all influences coördinated in fostering its growth. Cotton was being produced in increasing quantity. Machinery was cheap and of the type that could be used by the plentiful labor supply. America's export markets were expanding, the market for cloth was growing rapidly, the price was remaining stable or advancing, while the price of raw material maintained a steady decline. Commission houses were glad to lend money for selling contracts and machinery firms anxious to supply money for stock in an industry which was returning handsome profits. The human influence supporting industrial development had been produced by the events of the two previous decades.

North Carolina's history since 1880 has been a record of both industrial progress and agricultural stability. Both types have demonstrated the ability of North Carolinians to make better use than ever before of environmental factors. Today, her chief industries are textiles, tobacco, furniture, and the production of

hydro-electric power. Her two chief cash crops are cotton and tobacco. She has long utilized her environment for the production of these crops, but it required extraordinary human influences to develop them scientifically, especially the tobacco. She had always had the light sandy soils and the bright clear climate that produce bright yellow tobacco. It required the development of progressive citizens and their exploitation of the market for the cigarette to establish North Carolina's place as the leading state in the production of tobacco and the manufacture of cigarettes.

Progressive citizens are usually motivated by the opportunity of profit, and the agricultural progress of the State cannot altogether be ascribed to altruistic motives. The rising capitalists of North Carolina recognized the value of assuring their supply of raw materials. The correct type of fertilizer for tobaccos was ascertained and the manufacture of fertilizer was undertaken at the same time campaigns were waged for the production of more and better bright flue-cured tobacco. Farmers were taught the kind and quantity of fertilizer to use and the men behind the movement were rewarded both by sales of their fertilizer and by profits from the products manufactured from the crops. While the profits of the industrialists were large and tended to fix tighter than ever the one-crop agricultural system on the North Carolina farmer, the profit motive did result in more scientific agriculture, not only in tobacco, but also in cotton. The North Carolina farmer could now abandon his procession of land abandonment; steady fertility of the future was moved up to the present.

Geographic influences turned to the benefit of the human race are also responsible in large measure for the development of the furniture industry, another link in North Carolina's industrial history. The winds blow up from the Gulf, bringing in moisture, and pass onto the Coastal Plains of North Carolina, where they are further heated in summer, resulting in convectional rainfall. In the same region in winter they meet colder winds from the north and again drop moisture. The same process takes place in the Piedmont, and as the air rises up the high slopes of the Blue Ridge condensation is increased by the

orographic influence. Very heavy rainfall results. With the 50 to 60 inches on the plain, 40 to 50 inches in the Piedmont, and 80 or more in the Blue Ridge, North Carolina receives enough moisture to produce, with the aid of warm temperatures, a heavy and rapid growth of forest.

The colonists found this forest, but, aside from serving as building material and other special needs, it presented merely a problem of removal. Its potential use in manufacture remained practically unrecognized until the late eighties, when the people were experiencing the first thrills of their industrial awakening. Then its utilization took place in that section of the State which was having a hard time to maintain itself agriculturally. In the little village of High Point the inception of the State's large furniture industry took place as a result of the plans of several citizens to migrate to the richer lands of the west. One citizen pointed to the rich hardwood forests of the Blue Ridge and the Piedmont, to the pine forests of the Piedmont, and the gum, pine, and cypress of the Coastal Plain, and suggested that the State cease buying furniture from the North and make it from her own resources. An important industry was born. The years since have seen the growth of a large furniture industry which takes its place among those of the leading furniture manufacturing sections of the country.

North Carolina's industrial history had scarcely gotten well under way before her citizens turned to the utilization of another important environmental resource, hydro-electric power. The heavy rainfall of the mountainous section rushes down through deep gorges and out through the Piedmont, tumbling over the granitic rocks of that section until the streams take their final plunge over the Fall Line, that physiographic feature which denotes the eastern limit of the hard-rock area of the Piedmont and the beginning of the soft, unconsolidated sediments of the plain. Along the Fall Line in such cities as Raleigh and Halifax, and at every waterfall upstream, mills had been built, but the inflexibility of the waterwheel was a hampering factor in the spread of manufacturing. With millions of dollars reaped as the harvest of the development of their agricultural resources into manufactured articles, the people of the

State turned to the development of hydro-electric power. The streams were dammed, reservoirs built, and the multiplying factories sprang up throughout the Piedmont, for there were labor and raw material in almost any section. The power line followed them over hill and valley. At the same time the hydro-electric development got under way the railroad systems were emerging from the complicated network of transportation lines which had spread over the State. With improved transportation, limitless power, both electric and fuel, and wide abundance of resources and labor, North Carolina's citizens were able to enjoy industry in its best form—decentralization. This meant that crowded cities with their accompaniment of crowded traffic conditions, fire hazard, high rents, and taxes on extremely valuable land, were unnecessary. For its employees it meant cleaner and more healthful living conditions, no crowded tenements, life in the open or in small towns, cheaper living expenses, and a more enjoyable life.

An industrial map of North Carolina shows that her cotton textiles, her tobacco products, her furniture, and her hydro-electric power, with their satellite industries, tend to predominate in the Piedmont. The Coastal Plain is still an agricultural region, its towns primarily commercial and still limited by their trading areas. Environmental influences still guide industrial pursuits. The cooler climate of the Piedmont, its rougher topography, its poorer soils, its potential waterpower, and its by-product, potential labor supply from an agricultural region, are strong influences toward further industrial development. The successful carrying out of an industrial revolution in a region depends not alone upon the environment, but to a large extent upon the human influences to be found in that environment. Is it not possible that the Germans, Scotch-Irish, and the Irish who settled this region, who carried on their domestic industries fostered from their environment in Europe, have handed down to their descendants an aptitude for industry only lying dormant awaiting opportunity to spring to life? North Carolina's industries are continually growing more complex. Though her cotton textile industry becomes more automatic, other industries are finding North Carolina employees capable of performing the most

intricate tasks with an adaptability that surprises the masters. Silk textiles and rayon-yarn-producing industries have found the Southern field as favorable as, and in cases more favorable than, old-established centers in the North and in Europe. Foreign managers express surprise at the aptitude of the North Carolina workers.<sup>24</sup>

Population increase in the Piedmont has far outstripped that of the Coastal Plain, for its industrial cities are not limited by narrow trading areas. The Piedmont has not yet felt the need for foreign immigration which so long passed it by. Natural reproduction in a region where the Negro still performs the majority of the hard tasks maintains a steady supply of labor and much to spare. Seventy-five cents a day for long hours in the field, and low subsistence costs for the laborer, have helped keep wage scales low. The recent common labor wage of \$2.40 paid by governmental agencies during the recovery campaign may have far-reaching effects upon agricultural industries. Such results and their repercussion upon manufacturing industries can only be learned by experience which is as yet far from complete.

The development of industry and the utilization of natural resources have poured millions of dollars into the State. These millions have been spent in furthering industry, in aiding agriculture, and in educating the people. Today all parts of the State, due to the fine road system, are closely connected and greater homogeneity of thought is possible. With her fine public school system, colleges, universities, industries, and agriculture, North Carolina is regarded as one of the most progressive states.

Such a development could not have taken place without favorable geographic influences properly adapted to the needs of her citizens. Had North Carolina been located in the Great Basin her history and development surely would have paralleled Nevada's. Had she been a Great Plains state her history might have been similar to that of Kansas; or if in New England, she would have been a manufacturing state long ago, thinking differently from those with whom she allied herself during the Civil War. Her citizens have used her natural resources and have

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<sup>24</sup> Lemert, Ben F., *The Cotton Textile Industry of the Southern Appalachian Piedmont*, p. 89.

adapted geographic influences to their betterment as they learned how to use them. The history of North Carolina is one regarding the stages at which man, ever changing, learned to adapt himself with greater efficiency to his environment. This adaptation is the illustration of the effect of geographic influences in the history of the State.

## VIRGINIA AND CAROLINA HOMES BEFORE THE REVOLUTION\*

By JULIA CHERRY SPRUILL

When Mistress Forrest and Anne Burras arrived at Jamestown, they found there hardly more than an armed camp. Enclosing a little more than an acre of land and defended by palisades made of large poles stood a triangular fort with three gates in the center of each side. In the market-place were a storehouse, "Corps du Gard," and a church, described by Smith as "a homely thing like a barne, set upon Cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth."<sup>1</sup> Of even worse construction were the dwellings within the fort, flimsy huts arranged in lines facing the palisades of its two shorter sides. For fifteen or more years after the first settlement at Jamestown, the dwelling houses continued to be rude shanties of such green timber and poor workmanship that they were constantly falling into decay. Struggling for existence amid famine, sickness, and hostile savages, the miserable colonists had no time, or heart either, perhaps, to build lasting and substantial residences. Also, many who were bachelors were more interested in digging for gold or amassing a fortune to take back to England than in importing unnecessary household goods.<sup>2</sup>

But gradually dwellings became more substantial and comfortable. Rude huts gave way to improved frame houses, which in turn were replaced by brick residences of impressive dimensions. Governor Sir John Harvey, in a letter to the Privy Council in 1638, told of twelve new houses at Jamestown. One of brick erected by the secretary was "the fairest that was ever known in this countrie"; others were framed but constructed "consonant to his Ma'ties Instruction that we should not suffer men to build slight cottages as heretofore."<sup>3</sup> Outside James-

\*This is a chapter of the author's forthcoming work on women in the Southern colonies.—  
EDITOR'S NOTE.

<sup>1</sup> Smith, John, *Works* (Edward Arber edition, 1884), p. 957.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Nathaniel Butler wrote in 1622 that the Virginia houses were generally the worst he ever saw, "the meanest Cottages in England being every ways equal (if not superior) with the most of the best." The Virginians resented this criticism, replying that their dwellings had been built for use and not for ornament; but later their assembly, looking back upon this early period, declared that the houses were "so meane and poore . . . that they could not stand above one or two yeares." Kingsbury, Susan Myra (ed.), *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, II, 383.

<sup>3</sup> *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, III, 29-30.

town a majority of the planters used brick only for foundations and chimneys, as the abundance of wood made framing less expensive. Typical of many Virginia dwellings at the time, doubtless, was the parsonage which the vestry of Northampton County resolved to build in 1635. It was to be forty feet long, eighteen feet wide, and "nyne foot to the wall plates," with a chimney at each end. A partition running through the middle was to divide it into two apartments, a "Kitchinge" and a "Chamber," and at each end of the house there was to be a room, one a study and the other a buttery.<sup>4</sup> In the last half of the century, while houses varied from one-story, two-room cottages to two-and-a-half-story brick structures, the most frequent style, whether of frame or brick, was the story-and-a-half type, sometimes with a wing at the rear, and often with a "shedd-room" kitchen. According to Beverley, the Virginians built many rooms on a floor because the frequent high winds would "incommode a towring Fabrick."<sup>5</sup>

Some of the most prosperous planters had residences of four to seven rooms and a few had larger homes, but generally seventeenth century houses were small. Governor Berkeley's brick residence at Green Spring had six apartments, and that of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon contained seven besides a kitchen, dairy, and storeroom.<sup>6</sup> The inventory of Mrs. Elizabeth Digges described the divisions in her residence as the yellow room, the red room, the hall parlor, the large room opposite the yellow room, and the chamber back of this. All of these were apparently on one floor. Above was a garret with a room attached and below was a cellar.<sup>7</sup> Homes generally were less pretentious. Robert Beverley, planter of large estate, lived in a house containing only three chambers besides a dairy, kitchen, and overseer's room, and the dwelling of Edmund Cobbs had only a hall and kitchen on the lower floor and one room above.<sup>8</sup>

From contemporary observations, it appears that the seventeenth century houses, though simple and plain, were sometimes surprisingly attractive on the inside. John Hammond in 1655

<sup>4</sup> Singleton, Esther, *The Furniture of Our Forefathers*, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *The History of Virginia*, p. 251.

<sup>6</sup> Bruce, Philip Alexander, *Economic History of Virginia*, II, 155-156.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 155, 156.

described the Virginia dwellings as "Pleasant in their building, which although for most part they are but one story besides the loft, and built of wood, yet contrived so delightfull, that your ordinary houses in England are not so handsome, for usually the rooms are daubed and whitelimed, glazed and flowered, and if not glazed windows, shutters which are made very pritty and convenient."<sup>9</sup>

A visitor in 1686 declared there were very good houses in the colony. Those in the country were of wood sheathed with chestnut plank and sealed inside with the same. "As they get on in the world," he added, "they refinish the interior with plaster, for which they use oyster-shell lime, making it as white as snow; so that although these houses seem poor enough on the outside because one sees only the weathered sheathing, within they are most agreeable. Most of the houses are amply pierced with glazed windows." Commenting further upon the general style of architecture, he declared: "Whatever their estates, for what reason I do not know, they build their houses consisting only of two ground floor rooms, with some closets and one or two prophet's chambers above. According to his means, each planter provides as many of such houses as he needs. They build also a separate kitchen, a house for the Christian slaves, another for Negro slaves, and several tobacco barns, so that in arriving at a plantation of a person of importance you think you are entering a considerable village."<sup>10</sup>

This custom of providing houses for special purposes and removing household occupations from the residence prevailed wherever wealth was sufficient to make it possible, and continued through the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. Beverley declared the "Drudgeries of Cookery, Washing, Dairies, &c.," were performed in outside offices in order to keep the dwelling house "more cool and sweet."<sup>11</sup> Hugh Jones explained that the kitchen was removed from the main house because of "the Smell of hot Victuals, offensive in hot Weather."<sup>12</sup> The

<sup>9</sup> "Leah and Rachel," Hall, Clayton Colman (ed.), *Narratives of Early Maryland*, pp. 297-298.

<sup>10</sup> Harrison, Fairfax (translator), *A Frenchman in Virginia being the Memoirs of a Huguenot Refugee in 1686*, pp. 111-113.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 251.

<sup>12</sup> *Present State of Virginia, 1724*, p. 36.

number of these outbuildings, rather than the size or grandeur of the dwelling house, doubtless accounted for its being referred to as the "Great House."<sup>13</sup>

The divisions in the seventeenth century dwelling were not designed and furnished for particular purposes, such as dining, sleeping, and entertaining, but differed very little from each other in their appointments. As the size of the family, even among the wealthiest, was ordinarily greatly out of proportion to that of the house, it was necessary to make of every room a possible sleeping apartment and dressing room. The hall, where the family usually had their meals and sat, contained several tables, a cupboard, various kinds of chairs, chests of drawers, a looking-glass, a cabinet, a trunk or two, a couch-bed, and even a "standing-bed" with appurtenances. The parlor was furnished very much like the chamber, often with a large four-poster and one or two trundle beds in addition to tables, chairs, chests, and trunks. Clothing and household linen were stored apparently according to no general rule in hall, parlor, or chamber.

The most prominent article of furniture in the colonies as in the mother country was the bed, which was found in every room except possibly the kitchen. The feeling of impropriety in entertaining mixed company in a bedroom was not present in America or Europe in the seventeenth century. It will be remembered that at the time kings and queens received their courtiers in their sleeping apartments. So, the "bedd standing in ye parlour" was the most expensive and luxurious object on display in many homes. It was often an imposing four-poster covered with a soft feather bed and surrounded by curtains of bright colored fabrics upheld by a rod, and by valances of the

<sup>13</sup> A description of the home of a representative prosperous planter with its outbuildings and other surroundings appears in this letter from William Fitzhugh to a friend in 1686: ". . . the Plantation where I now live contains a thousand acres . . . upon it there is three quarters well furnished with all necessary houses; grounds and fencing, together with a choice crew of negro's at each plantation . . . with stocks of cattle & hogs at each quarter, upon the same land, is my Dwelling house furnished with all accommodations for a comfortable & gentile living, as a very good dwelling house with rooms in it, four of the best of them are hung & nine of them plentifully furnished with all things necessary and convenient, & all houses for use furnished with brick chimneys, four good Cellars, a Dairy, Dovecot, Stable, Barn, Henhouse, Kitchen, & all other conveniencys & all in a manner new, a large Orchard, of about 2500 Apl trees most grafted, well fenced with a Locust fence a Garden, a hundred square foot square, well pailed in, a Yeard wherein is most of the said necessary houses pallizado'd in with locust Puncheons . . . together with a good Stock of Cattle, hogs, horses, mares, sheep, &c. and necessary servants belonging to it, . . . About a mile & half distance a good Water Grist miln, whose tole I find sufficient to find my own family with wheat & Indian corn. . . ." *Virginia Magazine*, I, 395-396.

same material suspended from the sides to the floor.<sup>14</sup> Other furnishings of the bed were pillows and bolsters, pillowberes and sheets of oznaburg, canvas, Holland, or linen, blankets or "duffields," and coverlets and quilts of gay colors. A brass warming pan in which coals could be placed was used to take the chill from the sheets in winter.

Besides the bed and its furnishings were chests, trunks, tables, and chairs. There were costly Russian leather and Turkey-worked chairs, plainer chairs with bottoms of rush, calfskin, cane, or white-oak strips, and plain joint stools, many kinds of tables, chests with and without drawers, and various kinds of boxes and trunks. Furniture was of oak, pine, cypress, bay, cedar, maple, and walnut. Mahogany did not appear until the next century, and then only in the homes of the wealthy. The chest of drawers with a looking-glass and the bureau, though far less common than the trunk or ordinary chest, were found in the better homes, and cupboards were fairly common. In the more comfortable dwellings were also brass or iron andirons, shovel, tongs, and bellows at each fireplace, curtains at the windows, and "cloths" and cushions for chairs and tables. The carpets mentioned in inventories were coverings for tables or other furniture. Floor coverings were not in general use until the next century.

Some of the most affluent housewives by the latter part of the century were well equipped with linens and tableware. In 1677 Mistress Elizabeth Beasley, describing her losses in Bacon's Rebellion the year before, mentioned "twenty-two pairs of fine dowlas sheets, six pairs of Holland sheets, forty-six pillow cases, twenty-four fine napkins, two tablecloths and thirty-six towels, most of them fine dowlas."<sup>15</sup> The size of families, the hospitable manners, and the rarity of forks made it important to have on hand a large amount of table linen. For everyday purposes

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<sup>14</sup> Hugh Jones declared that the Virginians pulled the down of their living geese and both wild and tame ducks "wherewith they make the softest and sweetest Beds." (*Present State of Virginia*, p. 42.) The "flock bed" often mentioned in wills and inventories was of wool or wool ravelings. The wives of the poorer planters sometimes made beds of cat-tails, a plant growing in the marshes of the colony. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>15</sup> *Virginia Magazine*, V, 372.

this was of cotton, oznaburg, dowlas, or Holland, but that saved for special occasions was of damask.<sup>16</sup>

Plates used in serving food were sometimes of earthenware, though because of its durability and inexpensiveness, pewter was the material of which the larger number were made. Wooden trenchers, or hollowed-out pieces of board, were much used. Dishes of various kinds were made of pewter, which material was so much used that in most houses the raw metal was kept on hand for molding new and repairing old utensils. Forks were rare, but knives and spoons of tin, pewter, or alchemy were in general use. Tumblers, mugs, flagons, tankards, beakers, and cups were used for drinking. Other articles on dining tables were saltcellars, porringers, sugar-pots, butter-dishes, castors, cruets, bowls, and jugs. Wealthier families had silver drinking vessels, spoons, and saltcellars, and the most prosperous possessed silver services engraved with their coats of arms.

The Virginia kitchen, though usually less picturesque than that of New England, was a very important adjunct to the house. At one end was a vast chimney of brick or stone built with an inner projecting ledge on which rested a bar six or eight feet from the floor called a lug-pole or back-bar. Suspended from this were iron hooks or chains with hooks of various lengths called pothooks or trammels. On these hooks huge pots and kettles hung at varying distances over the fire. The best equipped homes had copper boilers embedded in brick and mortar and heated from underneath. The oven was a brick structure in a hole in the ground. Enormous iron pots weighing forty pounds or more and copper, tin, and brass kettles holding as much as fifteen gallons were used for boiling large quantities of food at a time. Trivets, or three-legged stands of varying heights on which food to be cooked could be placed at exactly the right distance from the coals, iron spits on which meats were roasted above the fire, gridirons for broiling, iron and brass skillets for baking, long toasting forks for turning the meats, and ladles for basting them, were also part of the kitchen equipment. In addi-

<sup>16</sup> Mistress Elizabeth Digges, a wealthy gentlewoman whose inventory was presented in court in 1699, possessed nine tablecloths and thirty napkins of this expensive material besides three diaper and forty-eight flaxen tablecloths and thirty-six diaper and sixty flaxen napkins. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

tion were long-handled waffle irons, chafing dishes, pudding pans, saucepans, wooden bowls, tin and earthenware pans, graters, sifters, cullenders, funnels, iron or brass mortars and pestles, rolling-pins, scales and weights, pincers, and various kinds of knives. In the dairy were churns, pails, tubs, cheese press, trays, strainers, butter-sticks, noggins, piggins, and earthen butter-pots.

The variety and quantity of household furniture described above were found only in homes of persons of easy circumstances. Those of narrower means had much less, and even affluent families sometimes possessed only the most essential articles. The Rev. John Fontaine, who in 1715 visited in the home of Robert Beverley, declared that though rich, he had nothing in or about his house but what was necessary; that he had good beds but no curtains, and instead of cane chairs, used stools made of wood.<sup>17</sup> Inventories show that many persons owned hardly more equipment than what was absolutely required for sleeping and the preparation of food.

Much more is known of the first homes in Virginia than of those in the Carolinas. These colonies were settled too late in the century to have advanced far beyond the cabin stage by 1700. Though there were a few substantial planters among them, the first inhabitants of the Albemarle region generally were men of little capital. They lacked sufficient wealth to build large houses, and because of the dangerous coast line, found it difficult to import furniture. Yet Lawson writing about 1700 declared that there were few housekeepers among them "but what lived very nobly."<sup>18</sup> According to this early historian, good bricks were made throughout the settlement, and carpenters, joiners, masons, and plasterers were present.<sup>19</sup> Many different kinds of trees provided building materials for substantial residences and attractive woods for furniture. Framing of houses was of chestnut, window frames of the durable live oak, posts and sills of red cedar, and shingles of white cedar.

<sup>17</sup> Maury, Ann, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, p. 265. Quoted in *Virginia Magazine*, III, 171.

<sup>18</sup> *History of Carolina*, p. 111.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 273.

Wainscotting, tables, and chests were made of cedar, tables and chests of drawers of black walnut, and trenchers and other turnery ware of maple and holly.<sup>20</sup>

The household furnishings of Captain Valentine Bird, whose estate was described in an inventory of 1680,<sup>21</sup> were probably representative of those of the better sort of seventeenth century Carolinians. Captain Bird possessed a plantation with the usual outhouses and stock of cows, sheep, and hogs, eleven Negro slaves, an Indian slave woman, and a white indentured woman servant. In his house were two bedsteads, one couch, a cradle, and a "Hammacker"; two feather beds, twelve pillows, and four bolsters; a large trunk, two iron-bound chests, and two small chests, one of which had drawers; two tables with frames, ten chairs, a looking-glass, a dressing box, a warming pan, and two hairbrushes. Tableware consisted of two tankards, two dozen plates, nineteen porringers, fifty-one dishes, and four basins, all of pewter. Kitchen utensils included a brass kettle weighing thirty-two pounds, one iron pot of fifty pounds, another of thirty-six, and two of thirty-three pounds, three skillets, a frying pan, three spits, a mortar and pestle, a pair of andirons, three pairs of pothooks, one pair of racks, a flesh fork, and a "Parcel of Tining ware." There were ten pairs of Holland sheets and three of brown oznaburg, seventeen towels, five cupboard cloths, four diaper tablecloths and two dozen and nine diaper napkins, and six coarse tablecloths and two dozen and four coarse napkins.

Of the Ashley River settlement, a new arrival wrote in 1682 that it had about a hundred houses, all of which were built wholly of wood; that though excellent brick was made in the colony, there was very little of it.<sup>22</sup> Doubtless these wooden houses resembled the first rude huts of the neighboring colonies. Lawson wrote of stopping in the home of a Frenchman thirty-six miles from Charles Town in "a very curious contrived house

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 157, 161, 165, 166, 167.

<sup>21</sup> Grimes, J. Bryan, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories*, pp. 472-474.

<sup>22</sup> "Letters of Thomas Newe, 1682," Salley, A. S., Jr. (ed.), *Narratives of Early Carolina*, p. 181.

built of brick and stone,"<sup>23</sup> but there were probably very few buildings of these materials in the colony at the time.

A letter from South Carolina in 1710 gives this illuminating description of the steps usually taken in the establishment of a plantation home: "The first thing to be done is, after having cutt down a few Trees, to split Palisades, or Clapboards, and therewith make small Houses or Huts, to shelter the Slaves. After that, whilst some Servants are clearing the Land, others are to be employed in squaring or sawing Wall-plats, Posts, Rafters, Boards and Shingles, for a small House for the Family, which usually serves for a Kitchen afterwards, when they are in better Circumstances to build a larger. During the Time of this Preparation, the Master Overseer, or white Servants, go every Evening to the next Neighbour's house, where they are lodg'd and entertain'd kindly, without Charges. And if the Person have any Wife or Children, they are commonly left in some Friend's House, till a suitable dwelling Place and Conveniences are provided, fit for them to live decently. . . . In the second Fall, or Winter, after a Plantation is settled they make Gardens, plant Orchards, build Barns, and other convenient Houses. The third or fourth Winter, Persons of any Substance provide Brick, Lime, or other Materials, in order to build a good House."<sup>24</sup>

As suggested in this letter, the modest dwellings built by emigrants upon their arrival in the colonies were later converted into outhouses or became merely wings of more spacious residences as the owners made their way in the world. During the seventeenth century, while planters generally were laying the foundations of their fortunes, their homes were small and unpretentious. But, with the accumulation of wealth during the eighteenth century, a social and political aristocracy developed, desirous of more comforts and luxuries and ambitious to display their success in their homes. Members of this privileged class built handsome mansions and imported sumptuous furnishings from England. Generally, in the settled regions, dwellings be-

<sup>23</sup> *History of Carolina*, p. 30. For descriptions of some early Carolina houses, see McCrady, *South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719*, pp. 705-708.

<sup>24</sup> Nairne, Thomas, *Letter from South Carolina*, 1710.

came larger, better proportioned, and more expensively furnished.

Wealthy South Carolina families by the middle of the century had fine houses both in Charles Town and in the country. Lord Adam Gordon, who visited the colony in 1764, wrote that almost every planter of note had a town residence to which he and his family repaired on public occasions and during the three sickly months in the fall. Many of these town houses, he observed, were "large and handsome, having all the conveniences one sees at home [England]. . . . the most considerable are of Brick, the other Cypress and yellow Pine."<sup>25</sup> The first floor of the Charles Town dwellings before 1760 was usually two feet above the grade. The street frontage was narrow, but the lots were deep enough not only for the house and its appendages of kitchen and washroom, but for servants' quarters, stables, and kitchen and flower gardens. The drawing-room was on the second floor overlooking the street. The more important rooms were paneled, but the woodwork was simple. After 1760, houses were larger and more elaborately decorated. In their general design, as well as in their well-proportioned, paneled rooms and hand-carved woodwork, they showed clearly the influence of English Georgian architecture.

The country seats of well-to-do Charlestonians, situated on the banks of the Ashley and Cooper rivers and their tributaries, were noted for the beauty of their grounds, which were often tended by imported English gardeners. Eliza Pinckney left a charming picture of "Crowfield," the country place of the Middletons on Goose Creek. "The house stands a mile from, but in sight of the road, and makes a very handsome appearance," she wrote, adding, "as you draw near it new beauties discover themselves; first the fruit vine mantleing the wall, loaded with delicious clusters. Next a spacious Basin in the midst of a large Green presents itself." The mansion house was "neatly finish'd, the rooms well contrived and Elegantly furnish'd." Leading from the back door was a spacious walk a thousand feet long,

<sup>25</sup> "Journal," in Mereness, Newton D. (ed.), *Travels in the American Colonies*, pp. 397, 398. For descriptions of Charles Town houses, see "Charleston, South Carolina," Albert Simons and Samuel Lapham (eds.), *The Octagon Library of American Architecture*, Vol. I, and Smith, A. R. Huger, and Smith, D. E. Huger, *Dwelling Houses of Charleston*.

on each side of which was a "grass plot ornamented in a Serpentine manner with Flowers." Round this plot on the right was a thicket of young, tall live oaks, and opposite on the left was a large square bowling green, sunk a little below the level of the garden. Surrounding this was a walk, bordered by a double row of fine, large, flowering laurels and catalpas, which afforded both shade and beauty. At the bottom of this "charming spot" was a large fish pond with a mound rising out of the middle, upon which stood a Roman temple.<sup>26</sup>

Similar to "Crowfield" were many country places in Virginia. Situated on the banks of streams, they had a water-front looking out over the river, which was frequently used as a highway, and a landward front, where the drive leading from the road terminated. The "Great House," often a large, square, two-storied, brick building with impressive doorways and imposing steps at each entrance, had on each side a cluster of outbuildings, which were generally better proportioned and more symmetrically arranged than the service houses of the preceding century. Surrounding the houses were broad lawns with terraced gardens, hedged with boxwood and lilacs and bordered with elms, cedars, catalpas, crape myrtles, or poplars. The mansion usually had a hall running through the center connecting the two fronts, and often had four rooms on each floor, though some houses contained as many as fourteen or seventeen rooms in all. These rooms were sometimes as large as twenty-five feet square with a pitch of from twelve to seventeen feet, and were finished with elegant and delicate taste. The smoothly paneled walls, cornices and other woodwork of fine detail, and the graceful stairways with carved step ends and newel posts, delicately turned balusters and rich mahogany handrails, were probably what the visitor, John Bernard, had in mind when he declared that the Virginia dwellings were "internally palaces."<sup>27</sup>

Philip Fithian left a description of "Nomini Hall," the country seat of Councillor Robert Carter, where he was tutor a few years before the Revolution. The mansion house, seventy-six feet long and forty-four wide, was constructed of brick and cov-

<sup>26</sup> Ravenel, Harriott Harry, *Eliza Pinckney*, pp. 53-55.

<sup>27</sup> *Retrospections of America*, p. 149.

ered with a mortar so white that it looked like marble. On the first floor were the dining room, where the family usually sat, the children's dining room, Mr. Carter's study, and a ball-room thirty feet long. Above stairs were four chambers, one for Mr. and Mrs. Carter, another for the five Carter girls, and two reserved for guests. This main house stood in the center of a square, at each of the four corners of which and at a hundred yards distance stood an outbuilding of considerable size. In one of these, a five-room, story-and-a-half, brick house, school was kept, and Mr. Carter's clerk, the tutor, the two Carter sons, and a nephew lodged. Corresponding to the schoolhouse at the other corners were stables, coach house, and washhouse. Other buildings grouped nearby were kitchen, bakehouse, dairy, and storehouse. Fronting the mansion were tastefully designed and carefully tended grounds, a "curious Terrace" covered with green turf, a bowling green, and rectangular walks paved with bricks. East of the house was a pleasant avenue of two rows of tall poplars leading to the county road.<sup>28</sup>

"Nomini Hall" is a good example of many plantation homes in eighteenth century Virginia, though other places like "Westover," the seat of the Byrd family, "Mount Airy," the home of the Tayloes, and "Rosewell," built by the Pages, were larger and more magnificent.<sup>29</sup> These are said to have had room for scores of guests. Generally, however, colonial residences were not of such enormous proportions as tradition has made them.<sup>30</sup> Neither did all the best houses conform in structure and shape to the type of which "Nomini" and "Westover" are examples. Of a different plan was "Tuckahoe," the home of the Randolphs on James River. According to Thomas Anburey, a British officer who was a guest there in 1779, this house seemed to have been built solely to answer the purposes of hospitality. Constructed in the form of an H, it had the appearance of two houses joined by a large saloon. Each wing had two stories and four

<sup>28</sup> *Journal, 1773-1774*, pp. 127-132.

<sup>29</sup> For descriptions of these and other Virginia mansions, see Chandler, Joseph Everett, *The Colonial Architecture of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia*; Coffin, Lewis A., and Holden, A. C., *Brick Architecture of the Colonial Period in Maryland and Virginia*; Glenn, Thomas Allen, *Some Colonial Mansions*, 2 vols.; Kimball, Fiske, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic*; Lancaster, Robert Alexander, *Historic Virginia Homes and Churches*; Sale, Edith Tunis, *Interiors of Virginia Houses of Colonial Times and Colonial Interiors*, Second Series; and Waterman, Thomas Tileston, and Barrows, John A., *Colonial Architecture of Tidewater Virginia*.

<sup>30</sup> *Virginia Magazine*, I, 214.

rooms on a floor. The family resided in one wing and the other was reserved for guests. The saloon, having doors on four sides and a very high pitch, was a cool retreat in summer and was so large that it was used sometimes as a ballroom.<sup>31</sup> Other houses resembled the plan of "Tuckahoe," and the story-and-a-half type also continued, though usually it was larger and more handsomely finished than its predecessors of the seventeenth century.

In the towns, as on the plantations, were large, two-story, brick residences of the Georgian style and rambling wooden houses with many wings and appendages. The grounds of these homes were usually less spacious than those in the country, but they were large enough for a separate kitchen, servants' quarters, and a garden. Inside the dwellings were the same well-proportioned, smoothly paneled rooms, fine woodwork, and majestic stairways found in the best plantation mansions.

Though the North Carolinians did not possess such imposing residences as their wealthier neighbors, they were not without comfortable homes. Governor Burrington wrote in 1735 that they had many "good Brick and wooden Mansion Houses with Suitable Outhouses" and orchards and gardens "handsomely laid out."<sup>32</sup> Brickell declared that the homes of the most substantial planters were of brick and had "large and decent Rooms."<sup>33</sup> Newspaper advertisements of houses for sale indicate that a common type was the square structure of brick or frame with a hall running through the center and four rooms on a floor. The kitchen was often an outbuilding, but was sometimes in the cellar of the dwelling house.

Edenton at the time of the Revolution had about 125 dwellings, none of which appear to have been of any great size or splendor. The "Cupola House," now standing, with its broad halls, hand-carved woodwork, and octagonal cupola, from which colonial ladies are said to have viewed the sound while drinking their tea, was probably its finest residence. In the vicinity of Edenton on a creek flowing into Albemarle Sound was "Buncombe Hall," seat of Colonel Edward Buncombe, which was possibly

<sup>31</sup> *Travels in the Interior Parts of America*, II, 358-359.

<sup>32</sup> Saunders, W. L. (ed.), *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, IV, 305.

<sup>33</sup> Brickell, John, *Natural History of North Carolina*, p. 37.

representative of many plantation homes in that section. According to a recent description, the original dwelling of "Buncombe Hall" was a frame, two-story building with four rooms, wide halls, and three cellars. Sometime before the Revolution a wing was added, making the house L-shaped. The lower rooms had high ceilings, but those above had low sloping walls pierced by numerous little dormer windows. The kitchen was in the cellar. Broad piazzas extended the length of both wings. At the front of the house were ornamental shrubs, border plants, and plots of flowers, at one side of which a walk led to Colonel Buncombe's office. At the rear was a sloping hillside planted with orchards, to the west of which in a grove of virgin oaks stood the slave quarters. Nearby were smithy and woodshop, where were manufactured many utensils and farm implements used on the plantation.<sup>34</sup>

Farther up the Roanoke from Edenton was Halifax, already declining at the time of the Revolution and containing only about forty-five dwellings. The English visitor Smyth found in Halifax and its environs, however, "many handsome houses," most of which were "constructed of timber and painted white." The residence of a Mr. Jones about two miles from town, he declared, was "an elegant seat."<sup>35</sup> This was possibly the home of the patriot Willie Jones, since called "The Grove House," the ruins of which are still standing.<sup>36</sup>

New Bern, the principal town in the Neuse region, had at the middle of the century no dwellings of consequence. In 1756 Governor Dobbs, suggesting to the Board of Trade that the seat of government be moved from New Bern, which was "very aguish," to a higher place fifty miles up the Neuse, wrote of the little capital: "We have no convenient houses here but most indifferent houses not 30 feet long and 20 wide exposed to the Weather and none can be undertaken until the place is determined."<sup>37</sup> A little over a decade later, however, New Bern boasted a governor's mansion surpassing the residences of the governors of both Virginia and South Carolina. This mansion,

<sup>34</sup> Blount, Thomas, "Buncombe Hall," *North Carolina Booklet*, II, No. 8, pp. 14-31.

<sup>35</sup> *Tour in the United States of America*, I, 84.

<sup>36</sup> For an account of this house and its owner, see Colonel Burgwyn, "The Groves—The House of Willie Jones," *North Carolina Booklet*, II, No. 9, pp. 3-16.

<sup>37</sup> *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, V, 573.

known as "Tryon's Palace," was a three-story brick building with two-story wings separated from the main house by curved colonnades. It had a frontage of eighty-seven and a depth of fifty-nine feet.<sup>38</sup> Its interior was finished according to the most expensive fashion and its chimney pieces, hardware, and other fixtures were imported from England.<sup>39</sup> According to a rough estimate by John Hawks, the architect, the main body of the house cost over ten thousand pounds and the two wings and colonnades over four thousand. The stone steps for the two fronts and the chimney pieces were six hundred pounds.<sup>40</sup> William Attmore, a Philadelphia merchant in New Bern in 1787, wrote that the mansion was "a large and elegant brick edifice finished in a splendid manner." He noted also many other "large and commodious dwellings," which, he declared, were mostly built of wood and had two-story balconies or piazzas.<sup>41</sup>

Wilmington on the Cape Fear, which rivaled New Bern for the title of metropolis, was admired by a visitor in 1757 for its regular streets and good buildings. Many of the houses were of brick, he declared, "two and three stories high with double piazzas, wch make a good appeara[nce]."<sup>42</sup> Janet Schaw, a gentlewoman from Scotland visiting in Wilmington and its neighborhood in 1775, thought the houses not spacious, but "in general very commodious and well furnished."<sup>43</sup>

Miss Schaw described "Hilton," home of Cornelius Harnett a few miles from Wilmington, as "a very handsome house . . . properly situated to enjoy every advantage."<sup>44</sup> This residence was a brick structure with gambrel roof, surrounded by a grove of splendid oaks and cedars. Including the cellar, it contained twelve rooms, most of which were finished in ornamented woodwork of red cedar.<sup>45</sup> Along the Cape Fear were many other substantial plantation homes, of which "Orton," still standing, was probably the handsomest.<sup>46</sup> One of the most celebrated

<sup>38</sup> B. J. Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution* I, 570, contains an engraving and a description of "Tryon's Palace."

<sup>39</sup> Letter of Governor Tryon, 1769, *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, VIII, 7-8.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 542-543.

<sup>41</sup> "Journal of a Tour," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, XVII, No. 2, p. 45.

<sup>42</sup> *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, edited by Evangeline Walker Andrews with Charles McLean Andrews, Appendix, p. 284.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>45</sup> Connor, R. D. W., *Cornelius Harnett*, pp. 201-202.

<sup>46</sup> Photographs and drawings of "Orton" are found in *The American Architect*, May 24, 1911.

was "The Hermitage," spacious residence of John Burgwin. According to an account of the building of "The Hermitage," the original was a small house which became one of the wings of the large two-story center erected not long before the Revolution. The completed mansion with its several appendages had a frontage of about 120 feet. On the north it faced a sloping lawn extending about 150 yards to Prince George's Creek, and on the south was a large flower garden, from which extended a broad avenue bordered with a double row of elms and leading into the county road to Wilmington. Six acres were set off for pleasure grounds adorned with alcoves, bowers, a hothouse, and fish-pond.<sup>47</sup> Other gentlemen's seats along the river were "Lillington Hall," home of General Lillington, one of the heroes of the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge; "Stag Park," first located by Governor Burrington; "The Neck," residence of Governor Samuel Ashe; "Green Hill," home of General John Ashe; "Moseley Hall," seat of the Moseleys; "Clayton Hall," home of the Claytons; "Castle Haynes," owned by General Hugh Waddell; and many others. A few of these residences were of brick, though the greater number were wooden structures, some large with wide halls and piazzas, but generally without any claim to magnificence or architectural beauty.<sup>48</sup>

Most of the furnishings of the eighteenth century mansions were imported from the mother country and were of the kind found in the homes of the English aristocracy. Smoothly polished mahogany and walnut tables of various shapes and sizes, chests of drawers, escritoirs, and desks—works of the best English cabinetmakers; graceful chairs and sofas upholstered in rich velvets and brocades; hand-carved beds with sumptuous curtains and valances; rosewood spinets, harpsichords, and writing tables; costly mirrors and pier glasses; graceful candle stands and japanned tea tables; Turkey rugs and richly woven Axminster and Wilton carpets, were in keeping with the excellence of the interior architecture.

Table furnishings were luxurious. Pewter, which was so popular in the former period, was gradually replaced in the more

<sup>47</sup> Burr, James G., "Historic Homes: The Hermitage, Burgwin's Seat," *Magazine of American History*, XVI, 433-442 (November, 1886).

<sup>48</sup> Waddell, Colonel A. M., "Historic Homes in the Cape Fear Country," *The North Carolina Booklet*, II, No. 9, pp. 16-22; Sprunt, James, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear, 1660-1916*, pp. 55-75.

expensive homes by silver, china, and glass. The wealthy took particular pride in their silver, often investing large sums in silver decanters, goblets, teapots, bowls, platters, and candlesticks as well as spoons, knives, and forks.<sup>49</sup> Chinaware and linens were also often costly. Anne Le Brasseur of South Carolina in 1742 owned among many pieces of valuable china two large dishes worth four pounds each. Mary Mullins of the same colony in 1730 owned a damask tablecloth valued at seven pounds and two other tablecloths and twenty-four napkins valued at thirty-six pounds.<sup>50</sup> Madam d' Harriette, another South Carolinian, had at the time of her decease in 1760 china and glassware worth 120 pounds, and bed and table linen valued at 301 pounds, besides some very valuable plate.<sup>51</sup>

The following list from the inventory of Joseph Wragg of South Carolina gives some idea of the surprising amount of tableware sometimes found in the best equipped homes of the middle of the century:

561 ounces three pennyweights of silver plate.....	£ 1,139- 1-6
3 doz. knives and forks.....	71- 0-0
25 enamelled china bowls.....	27-15-0
6 flowered china bowls.....	0-15-0
5 blue-and-white soup dishes.....	8- 0-0
5 other small blue-and-white dishes.....	5-10-0
2 small enamelled dishes.....	3- 0-0
1 small blue-and-white dish.....	0-15-0
48 enamelled soup plates.....	20- 0-0
15 blue-and-white soup plates.....	6- 0-0
17 butter saucers.....	2- 0-0
1 coffee and tea china set.....	5- 0-0
1 china jar.....	1- 0-0
3 sugar dishes.....	3- 0-0
1 china mug.....	1- 0-0

<sup>49</sup> Janet Schaw wrote of dining at a newly established plantation on the Cape Fear, where, though the house was no better than a Negro hut, she ate out of china and silver. *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, p. 185. The silver at "Westover" was valued at 662 pounds and included the following pieces: an epergne, a pitcher and stand, a bread basket, ten candlesticks, a snuffer stand, a large cup, two large punch bowls, two coffee pots, a sugar dish, a sugar basket, two sauce-boats, eight saltcellars and spoons, two sets of castors, a cruet, a large waiter, two middle-sized waiters, four small castors, a cream-boat, four chafing dishes, a teakettle, a "reine," two pudding dishes, a fish slice, a "sucking bottle," a large saucepan, four ragout spoons, two large sauce spoons, three marrow spoons, seven dozen knives and forks, eleven old-fashioned tablespoons, four dozen large best tablespoons, two dozen dessert spoons, three pairs of tea tongs, two tea strainers, one mustard spoon, one dozen new teaspoons, eleven second best teaspoons, six camp teaspoons, seven old teaspoons, five children's spoons, a large camp spoon, two small camp spoons, a camp cup, and a broad candlestick. *Virginia Magazine*, IX, 81-82.

<sup>50</sup> Singleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 131, 133.

<sup>51</sup> Hirsch, Arthur Henry, *Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, pp. 247-248.

3 dishes .....	£	1-15-0
7 plates .....		1-10-0
"Delf ware" .....		8- 0-0
2 pairs port decanters with ground stoppers.....		3- 0-0
132 jelly and syllabub glasses.....		5- 0-0
96 patty-pans .....		2- 0-0
23 knives and forks.....		5- 0-0
72 pewter plates and 13 dishes.....		40- 0-0
104 wine glasses.....		10- 0-0
Mustard-pots, salts, cruets, tea-kettle, beer- glasses, etc. ....		14- 5-0

There was also much table linen, including one hundred and fourteen napkins and eighteen diaper tablecloths.<sup>52</sup>

The polite living suggested by these many luxuries was by no means general. Because of their appeal to the imagination and the pleasant glamour they give to the past, the spacious and sumptuous residences of the few have been often regarded as representative of Southern colonial homes. Less conspicuous but far more numerous than these magnificent habitations were the modest dwellings of the less well-to-do in the older sections and the rude cabins in the backwoods and on the frontiers. Not so imposing as the dignified Georgian edifices, yet possibly more picturesque, were the small wooden houses with minute dormer windows and plain rambling cottages which sheltered less prosperous families. Little is known of the homes of the poorer sort. Families of working men in the towns were probably huddled together in mean and bare little houses, and those of the white helpers on the plantations occupied cabins somewhat better than those of the Negro slaves.

As the frontier was extended, evolution from cabin to mansion was repeated in each new settlement. While the older resi-

<sup>52</sup> Singleton, *op. cit.*, p. 125. An equally astonishing number of such articles was found in the home of Philip Ludwell of Virginia later in the century. Here, there were of blue-and-white china seven and a half dozen plates, twenty-two dishes, eleven bowls, and two sets of cups and saucers. Of red-white-and-gilt china, there were thirty-seven plates, eleven dishes, five bowls, and three sets of cups and saucers. There were also a set of white, fourteen chocolate, and eight brown cups and saucers, eight fruit bowls and thirty-nine finger bowls. Glassware included fifteen tumblers, four saltcellars, cider, wine, and strong beer glasses, jelly glasses, and glass salvers. Other tableware included ivory knives and forks, dessert knives and forks, sweet-meat knives and forks, teaspoons, two teapots, tea-boards, tea-chests and canisters, coffee and chocolate pots, a coffee roaster, two mustard pots, butter pots, pickle pots, stone sweetmeat pots, seven decanters, six cruets, pewter plates, pie and cheese plates, plate baskets and hampers, hot-water plates and dishes, a copper cooler, brass chafing dishes, and nut crackers. *Virginia Magazine*, XXI, 415-416. For lists of furniture, plate, linen, and china of wealthy North Carolinians, see the inventories of Mrs. Jean Corbin, Governor Arthur Dobbs, and Governor Gabriel Johnston, in Grimes, *Wills and Inventories*, pp. 482-483, 484-486, and 501-506.

dents of South Carolina on the Ashley and Cooper rivers were surrounding themselves with all the luxuries obtainable in England, those in the Pee Dee Basin were pleased to be emerging from the rude hut stage. In Winyaw Parish in 1729, a newly-erected parsonage, apparently representative of the best dwellings in the community, was described as "a wooden building but palister'd within, a story & half high & 25 foot Square."<sup>53</sup> According to a letter of the Rev. James Harrison about 1767, the inhabitants of St. Marks Parish, about eight miles from Charles Town, were living in hovels formed of rough unhewn logs which seldom contained more than two rooms.<sup>54</sup> Shortly after this, the vestrymen of St. Marks boasted of providing for their minister "all that was necessary . . . desirable and inviting—a new built house just finished, 36 ft. front, with four good rooms, lobby and staircase—a good kitchen, garden, orchard, stables, and necessary out houses."<sup>55</sup> Building restrictions for new towns in North Carolina suggest the modest demands for dwellings in that colony shortly before the Revolution. Regulations for Charlotte in 1766 required each lot to have "one well-framed sawed or hewed Log-House" twenty feet in length, sixteen feet wide, and ten feet "in the clear," with brick or stone chimneys. But, as many lot owners could not afford so large a home, the restrictions were later made applicable only to those who owned lots on the front street.<sup>56</sup> In Virginia, while fashionable gentlemen in the eastern counties were importing costly mahogany, silver, and china, pioneer families in the Shenandoah Valley were living in one-room cabins equipped no better than the first houses at Jamestown.

The typical backwoods home was a one- or two-room cabin, sometimes with a loft and a "lean-to." The walls were of hewn logs notched so as to fit into one another at the corners and with the cracks between them filled with moss, sticks, straw, and clay.

<sup>53</sup> Letter of the Rev. Thomas Morritt in Harvey Toliver Cook's *Rambles in the Pee Dee Basin*, p. 122.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

<sup>56</sup> *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIII, 772. A visitor in Virginia shortly before the Revolution wrote of the Richmond dwellings: "The houses here are almost all of wood, covered with the same; the roof with shingles, the sides and ends with thin boards, and not always lathed and plaistered within; only those of the better sort are finished in that manner, and painted on the outside. The chimneys are sometimes of brick, but more commonly of wood, coated on the inside with clay. The windows of the best sort have glass in them; the rest have none, and only wooden shutters." Smyth, J. F. D., *Tour in the United States*, I, 49.

The roof was of clapboards, and the floor, when not simply earthen, was of split puncheons smoothed with the broadaxe. The chimney was made of logs with the back and jamb of stone in sections where this material was available, and of logs and clay elsewhere. No nails were used in the whole house. The clapboards were hung upon laths with pegs, and the door and windows turned upon wooden hinges and had wooden locks. The furniture usually consisted of a straw mattress on a bedstead constructed by laying boards on forked poles attached to joists in the wall, a table made of a split slab supported by legs set in augur holes, and three-legged stools made the same way. Two small forks attached to a joist held the rifle and shot pouch, and wooden pegs provided a place for hanging clothes. An iron kettle and frying-pan, a few pewter spoons and steel knives brought from the older settlements, and homemade wooden trenchers, bowls, mugs, and tubs, completed the furnishings. While most pioneer houses conformed to this general type, they doubtless differed considerably in convenience and comfort according to the energy, skill, and ingenuity of their inhabitants. Clapboard shelves, chests, and extra tables and stools made by the father and sons, and feather beds, hand-woven blankets, coverlets, and sheets, gay colored quilts, homespun curtains and tablecloths, products of the industry and artistry of the housewife and her daughters, made some houses into homes with more than bare necessities.

Visitors from the settled regions usually wrote very unfavorably of the dwellings on the frontier. Colonel William Byrd, who traveled through the back country while helping survey the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina in 1728, declared that generally the people whom he saw were too lazy to improve their homes, which were often no more than miserable huts. In one wretched hovel he and his men were "forc't to ly in Bulk upon a very dirty Floor, that was quite alive with Fleas & Chinches," and in another, consisting of "one dirty Room with a dragging Door" that would neither open nor shut, he lodged "very Sociably in the same Apartment with the Family," where, including women and children, they "muster'd in all no less than Nine Persons, who all pigg'd lovingly together." But the most

depressing sight was that of a man and his wife and six children who lived in a house with walls but no covering and who in bad weather were forced to take refuge in a fodder stack.<sup>57</sup> Washington, while making a survey in the Shenandoah Valley for Lord Halifax in 1748, wrote of living among "a parcel of barbarians" where he had not slept on a bed for more than three or four nights, but usually "lay down before the fire upon a little hay, straw, fodder, or bearskin . . . with man, wife, and children, like a parcel of dogs and cats."<sup>58</sup> Daniel Stanton, Quaker preacher in Virginia in 1772, experienced the same crude entertainment in the home of a Friend, where he and the family all lay down in one room "like a flock of sheep in a fold, being sixteen in number."<sup>59</sup>

The practice of crowding many persons together to sleep in the same room was not limited to the backwoods. In the best homes in the settled counties, families were so large and guests so numerous that a person seldom enjoyed the privacy of a separate bedroom. Several beds to a room with two and often three persons to a bed were quite usual. The colonial standard of genteel living, while demanding spacious and magnificent houses equipped with fashionable mahogany, plate, and china, required little privacy. Nor did it require much in the way of convenience. The following comment by the French traveler Chastellux was doubtless true of many Carolinians and Virginians: "Their houses are spacious, and ornamented, but their apartments are not commodious; they make no ceremony of putting three or four persons in the same room; nor do these make any objection to their being heaped together; . . . being in general ignorant of the comforts of reading and writing, they want nothing in the whole house but a bed, a dining-room, and a drawing-room for company. The chief magnificence of the Virginians consists in furniture, linen, and plate; in which they resemble our ancestors, who had neither cabinets nor wardrobes in their castles, but contented themselves with a well-stored cellar, and a handsome buffet."<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Boyd, William K. (ed.), *Dividing Line Histories*, pp. 40-41, 313-315, 304-305.

<sup>58</sup> Ford, W. C. (ed.), *Writings of Washington*, I, 7.

<sup>59</sup> *Journal*, p. 122. For similar descriptions of backwoods homes, see Smyth, *Tour*, I, 74-75, 103, 198, 251; Burnaby, Andrew, *Travels*, reprinted from third edition, p. 142; Eddis, William, *Letters from America, 1769-1777*, p. 131; and Duke de la Rochefaucauld Liancourt, *Travels*, III, 175-176.

<sup>60</sup> *Travels*, II, 201-202.

## AN OVERLOOKED PERSONALITY IN SOUTHERN LIFE

By HUNTER DICKINSON FARISH

The particular attention that is today accorded the literature of the American frontier has given an especial interest to Joseph Baldwin's *The Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi*. A number of the incidents related by Baldwin had their counterparts in the early histories of those states, and several of his characters were taken from real life. One of these characters is "Samuel Hele, Esquire," and the original, it can be shown, was Samuel Augustus Hale, a young lawyer of Livingston, Alabama.

Although no writer, it appears, has ever mentioned this fact, the identity will hardly admit of a doubt. Samuel Hale and Joseph Baldwin were practicing attorneys, and intimately associated, in that small town of Western Alabama, at the time Baldwin's book was published in 1853. Elderly citizens of Livingston today remember that it was common knowledge among their parents that Joseph Baldwin had caricatured his friend, and it is believed there that the episode in which "Samuel Hele" figures had some basis in reality.<sup>1</sup> All of the facts given in the account of "Squire Hele's" life correspond to the known facts in the life of Samuel Hale, and every trait of the fictional hero was abundantly revealed in the conduct of the original.

The rôle in which Baldwin introduces his character is prophetic of a part that Samuel Hale was later to play in real life. He is made the protagonist in a plot when the citizens of Livingston determine to rid themselves of "Miss Charity Woodey," a New England "schoolmarm," who is a troublesome Abolitionist. At a party one evening, "Samuel Hele" was induced to entertain her with such an account of themselves and of their wickednesses that when they rose on the morrow "Miss Charity" was in their midst no more.

Samuel Augustus Hale is interesting today because of the personality he represents in the exciting drama of Southern life during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> These facts were given in a letter to the author from Dr. R. D. Spratt of Livingston, Alabama.

He is the example *par excellence* of the best New England contribution to Southern society—a type which the historian has strangely neglected.

Samuel Hale came of that race of Hales which has so often formed and given direction to the history of New England.<sup>2</sup> Closely related to Samuel were Nathan Hale, the martyr-spy of the American Revolution, and Edward Everett Hale, whose *The Man Without a Country* was a hoop forged in 1862 to hold the Union together. His brother was John Parker Hale,<sup>3</sup> who by the spectacular "Hale Storm of 1845" converted an apparently overwhelming Democratic majority in New Hampshire to the ranks of the antislavery cause, and whose reputation in the Senate as an Abolitionist and a humanitarian crusader won for him the presidential nomination of the Free Soil Democrats in 1852, and later the post as minister to Spain.

Samuel Hale, born in New Hampshire in 1809, at a time when a blight had fallen on New England's great shipping, came to young manhood before the protective tariff had assured her industrial development. It is not strange that this young New Englander, educated to the law and possessed of gifts of oratory, should then have decided to try his fortunes in the South—in a society where the spoken word had always been of more weight than the written. There, also, he would find a congenial political atmosphere. The tradition of his family in New Hampshire had been strongly Democratic.

In 1837 he accepted an invitation to become editor of the *Flag of the Union*, a Democratic newspaper, published at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, then the capital of the State. When he arrived in Alabama he was twenty-eight and had but recently left the halls of Bowdoin College. It was still five years before his brother would assert a surprising independence in Congress and a decade

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hale, Edward E., *A New England Boyhood* (New York, 1892), pp. xiv-xvi. The precise relation of Samuel Hale to the Hales of New England I have worked out in detail. I was given assistance in this work by Mr. John Parker Hale Chandler, Jr., of Dorchester, Massachusetts. My attention was first directed to this relationship by Mrs. Mary Stallworth Dickinson of Monroe County, Alabama.

<sup>3</sup> The family of Samuel and John Parker Hale was accorded a social distinction in New Hampshire. According to a tradition of Portsmouth, their grandmother, Lydia Parker Hale, was the daughter of Lady Zerviah Stanley. Lady Stanley, it was said, had married against the wishes of her father, the Earl of Derby, and, to escape the wrath of that vengeful man, had fled with her husband to live in seclusion in America. Although some doubt has been cast upon the tradition, it appears to have been generally accepted in the early part of the nineteenth century. Cf. Brewster, Charles W., *Rambles About Portsmouth* (Portsmouth, 1859), p. 118.

before he was to be read out of the Democratic party because of his opposition, on antislavery grounds, to the annexation of Texas. Samuel Hale, himself, was a Democrat in good standing. The *Flag of the Union* had been established to oppose the spread and triumph of the doctrine of nullification in Alabama. He was admonished to keep the paper true to the principles for the support of which it had been founded. And no one could ever charge that he betrayed that trust. For nine years he was a vigorous influence at this post. He enjoyed the patronage of the Democratic administration in the State, and for a part of this time was chosen one of the public printers. He was a respected citizen in Alabama's capital.<sup>4</sup>

But already, in 1837, disruptive forces were at work; soon old friendships would be broken and old alliances terminated. Already the Abolitionists had announced that they would give no quarter and that they *would* be heard. Democracy in Alabama was then still Jacksonian Democracy. But the problems growing out of the "re-annexation of Texas and re-occupation of Oregon" set many men on their guard. Soon the rapidly decreasing proportion of the Southern representation in Congress and the disputes over the introduction of slavery into newly acquired territories increased their uneasiness. Feeling themselves on the defensive, Southerners were everywhere turning to the Constitution. The Alabamians had generally and finally renounced nullification as inexpedient and unconstitutional. But by the late forties many of them felt that the very foundations of their welfare and happiness were threatened. A vociferous minority advocated secession. While the majority of the people still believed that in "a compact between sovereign and independent States" a rightful solution of their problem could be found, many felt that further submission to "Northern encroachments" would be folly. In an extremity they would leave the Union.<sup>5</sup>

From his editorial office at Tuscaloosa, Samuel Hale watched the growth, within the Democratic party, of an extreme States'

<sup>4</sup> Garrett, William, *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama, For Thirty Years* (Atlanta, 1872), p. 731. Facts concerning this period of his life were also furnished by the authorities at Bowdoin College.

<sup>5</sup> Denman, Clarence Phillips, *The Secession Movement in Alabama* (Montgomery, 1933), pp. 19-64.

Rights group. As he saw the rising tide of secession sentiment about him, he came to be dominated by a devotion to the ideal of the Union; this devotion became with him the ruling passion. His grandfather, another *Samuel Hale* and an "incurable Tory," had left his native New England in protest against the disruption of the British Empire.<sup>6</sup>

Fulminate as he might, Samuel Hale could not stop the rising tide. For his opposition to the members of the Democratic party holding extreme opinions on the doctrine of States' Rights he was denounced as an "unsafe" man. By 1846 the inevitable had come to pass. He was deprived of the patronage of the party, and in that year ceased to be editor of the *Flag of the Union*. He was now "turned over to the tender mercies of my political opponents." "Of this," he said, "I have never complained, for the reason that I greatly prefer to suffer in support of the right, [than] to prosper in support of the wrong." He had not abandoned the principles to the support of which he was pledged. "It was, on the contrary, because I could not be seduced to betray them that I was condemned."<sup>7</sup>

For a decade now he had made himself one of the people among whom he had lived. In many respects he had imbibed Southern notions and the local mode of life. What had life now to offer him there? The lines were not yet so sharply drawn. He would return to the study and practice of his profession, and remain among the people with whom he had cast his lot.

Disposing of his interests at Tuscaloosa, he settled at Livingston, in Sumter County, in the heart of the fertile Black Belt of Alabama.<sup>8</sup> This county had been part of the rich domain of the Choctaws. When they had relinquished it by the Treaty of The Dancing Rabbit in 1830, settlers had immediately rushed in to seize the rich lands. Soon the entire county was peopled almost wholly by large slaveholders and their slaves.<sup>9</sup> This rapid settling of the land resulted in much litigation, and Sumter

<sup>6</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 105.

<sup>7</sup> *Testimony Taken By the Joint Select Committee To Inquire Into the Condition of Affairs In the Late Insurrectionary States* (Washington, 1872, ten vols.), *Alabama Testimony*, III, 1831. (Cited hereafter as *Alabama Testimony*.)

<sup>8</sup> Garrett, *Reminiscences*, p. 731.

<sup>9</sup> Owen, Thomas McAdory, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Chicago, 1921), III, 1278.

County became a "rich haven" for the aspiring young lawyer.<sup>10</sup> Here Samuel Hale spent the years until the outbreak of the Civil War.

In many respects these years brought him contentment and personal satisfaction. Here were brilliant colleagues with whom he could match wits; here was a cultivated and hospitable society in which Virginians set the tone. He did not remain an outsider. Twice he married women of prominent Virginian families who had settled there. His first wife was Mary Ann Bolling, and he later married a widow, the former Ellen Lee, who was reckoned the richest woman in the county.<sup>11</sup> Through these alliances he entered the ranks of the great cotton barons of the Black Belt and was the master of slaves. And yet, until the War came, he proclaimed himself a Union man and always spoke his mind freely.

The years of the War constituted a period of dire suffering for one whose mind was not governed by hate, and who would "greatly prefer to suffer in support of the right." And they brought distress to Samuel Hale. His isolation became all but complete. Most of those who had acted with him up to that time in opposition to plans for nonintercourse with the North and against plans for the dissolution of the Union, in the excitement of the day became "inextricably involved." Not so Samuel Hale. He denounced secession as an act of "criminal folly." Now he faced personal violence and loss of property. "Perhaps my enemies will say that I overestimated my importance," he said, "and that I owed my safety to my insignificance. Be it so. This did not serve to protect my property from being plundered from me; nor did it long serve to protect me individually. Insignificant as I may be represented to be, I had the honor of being placed at the head of a list of seven Union men who were selected to be hanged by the enraged secessionists about us. I take no pleasure in referring to this circumstance now.<sup>12</sup> It was as the staunchest of Union men that he was accorded that

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<sup>10</sup> Baldwin, Joseph Glover, *The Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi* (New York, 1853), *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> Letter of Dr. R. D. Spratt. Information was also given in letters to the author from Miss Ida St. John Lee and Mrs. S. A. L. Larkin of Coatopa, Alabama.

<sup>12</sup> *Alabama Testimony*, III, 1831.

first place. The good fortune of his escape he attributed to the timely arrival of Sherman at Atlanta.

When peace came Samuel Hale did not long enjoy days of quiet for contemplation of the course he had pursued. He was soon stirred by the course affairs were taking about him. Sumter County with its large black population was proving an El Dorado for the political adventurer. It was soon in an uproar.

Ardent Union sentiment had early led Samuel Hale to champion the Republican party. Realizing now that the question of the status of the Negro was being made a political issue with a view to party advantage, he sounded a note of solemn admonition to the leaders of his party in the North.

Toward the end of 1867 he wrote a series of eloquent letters to Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts. He warned the Republican leader of the un wisdom of the course his party was pursuing in Alabama and protested against the domination of the party in the South by a carpetbag and scalawag element. Appealing to the bond of a common New England origin, and as a fellow Republican, he sought to check the course so madly followed under Radical inspiration. In a letter of January 1, 1868, that reaffirmed his loyalty to the party, he said: "I have, then, a right, inasmuch as the success of the party, in its great measures, is a matter of interest to myself as well as to you, to remonstrate with you upon the course you are pursuing in your leadership of the great party to which we both belong. In the destiny of the republican party you and I are individually concerned; and, let me say to you, not by way of threatening, but rather in that of earnest and friendly remonstrance, that the destiny that awaits it, unless it retraces some of its steps in the matter of reconstruction, is ominous of evil."<sup>13</sup>

"It is never very pleasant," he said, "to have to speak much of oneself"; but the senator must understand his position. "I am no discontented conservative—no disloyal rebel. I am a Union man, and have been from the beginning."

He pointed out that with a large body of whites in Alabama disfranchised, the Negroes, of whom the great majority were utterly unfitted for the task, would under the proposed constitu-

<sup>13</sup> *Loc. cit.* A portion of this correspondence was included in this report as evidence.

tion for the State have it in their power to make all political decisions. He regarded this constitution as an "infamous outrage upon civilization." He explained that he favored giving the Negro a qualified right of suffrage for the present, believing that this was necessary for his protection under the new order and that it would stimulate him to improvement. But he thought it utmost folly to confer upon him, immediately and without condition, full privileges of citizenship.

"But perhaps, sir," he said, "you will ask me why it is that I attempt to argue this matter with you, when it is already a 'fixed fact' that our emancipated slaves, with all their passions and prejudices, their brutality and their ignorance, are to have the right of suffrage given them, and [be] placed in power over the white race, in these Southern States. If, indeed, it be a 'fixed fact' that this great wrong is to be perpetrated, and the white race, the men of your own blood and color, subjected to this outrageous indignity, let me tell you what will inevitably come of it. There will come of it a conflict of races such as has never been—such a conflict as it sickens the heart to contemplate. Just so sure as one day follows another in the order of time, this conflict will come."<sup>14</sup>

He warned the senator that the circumstances under which the two races there found themselves were sufficiently antagonistic of themselves "to cause serious apprehension in the minds of all thinking men," and that these fears were greatly increased by "the diabolical conduct of the reckless and unprincipled adventurers who have come among us from the Northern States and affiliated with the blacks."

Evidently Senator Wilson had tired of this correspondence, for in a perfunctory and curt reply, dated January 11, 1868, he said merely, "I do not agree with your views respecting the colored people, believing that the start in reorganization should be on a basis of equal rights for all men. If the Union men of the South, instead of calmly folding their arms and resigning themselves to circumstances they so profess to deplore, would take hold and exert themselves to aid in the reconstruction measures, a better state of things might exist. I have no fears what-

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1833.

ever of the 'war of races.' I do not think there will be any serious trouble between whites and blacks, and it is entirely in the power of the whites to obviate any isolated cases of difficulty which may occur."<sup>15</sup>

The appeal had failed.

By 1869 Samuel Hale would endorse but few of the candidates offered by his party in the local elections of the State.<sup>16</sup>

During the summer of 1870 the town of Livingston was thrown into a frenzy of panic when it was reported, on the day set for a Republican convention there, that a body of armed freedmen was approaching the town with the purpose of sacking it. The alarm was spread and the Negroes were disbanded by the sheriff before they arrived at Livingston. Whatever their intention had been, serious-minded citizens were aghast at the trend of events. This unfortunate affair resulted in the killing of a Negro Baptist preacher who was said to have incited the action of the freedmen. Other disturbances in the county were embittering feeling.<sup>17</sup>

In the approaching state elections Samuel Hale would vote for but one of all the candidates offered by his party.<sup>18</sup> All his protests were ignored.

But already there were allies to assist him. In 1870 a group of "Liberal Republicans" in the North, despairing of influencing Republican party counsels, began openly to denounce the corruption of the Grant administration and to oppose Grant's policy of federal interference in Southern politics. That policy was defended by the regular party leaders as necessary because of disturbed conditions growing out of the extra-legal activities of the Southerners in their attempts to restore white dominion. But the Liberal Republican movement soon gained such proportions that the Radical leaders took fright.

They acted with a timeliness that evinced political acumen for the approaching presidential election of 1872. On April 7, 1871, the radically controlled Congress appointed a "Joint Select Committee To Inquire Into The Condition of Affairs in The

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1834-1835.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1813.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1772.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1813.

Late Insurrectionary States.”<sup>19</sup> Two years before this time, the leaders of the Ku Klux Klan, realizing the abuses in that organization, had ordered it disbanded. Nevertheless, sporadic violence had continued in the South, and a report on Southern “atrocities” at this time would not come amiss. A large majority of this Select Committee was radical.

Evidence was taken by the committee at Washington and by subcommittees in several of the Southern states. The subcommittee which sat in Alabama consisted of three Republicans and two Democrats; but since the two Democrats were never present at the same time, it was in effect a committee of three Republicans and one Democrat.

The majority members, doubtless feeling that they were treading on thin ice, did not generally summon the more solid and respectable Republicans in that State as witnesses. The minority, on the other hand, was careful to summon the most prominent men of the State, men who because of their position knew conditions well. It took care that the testimony in the State should cover everything that had happened there since the War. Feeling that the majority was taking only evidence which would be of partisan value, the minority was determined to expose the actual condition of affairs. As the majority piled up testimony to prove the existence of violence and unlawful organizations, the minority accumulated evidence to show why such organizations should arise, and to bring out everything concerning the nature of the carpetbag rule. To this end and to the great embarrassment of the majority, the Democrats summoned the more prominent Republicans of the State whom they felt to be honest men.<sup>20</sup>

It was in this capacity as a Republican and an honest man that Samuel Hale was summoned, by the minority, before the subcommittee sitting at Livingston in the fall of 1871. He was now old and retired from the practice of his profession. Again he appears in the rôle in which Joseph Baldwin had cast him; once more he is induced to aid in driving the mischief-maker out of the land. It must have been a bitter thing to give such evi-

<sup>19</sup> Rhodes, James Ford, *History of The United States From the Compromise of 1850 To the McKinley-Bryan Campaign of 1896* (New York, 1920), VI, 431.

<sup>20</sup> Fleming, Walter L., *Civil War and Reconstruction In Alabama* (New York, 1905), p. 702.

dence to his political opponents, to the party which long ago had cast him out. But the best interests of the Republican party demanded it, and the safety of the Union was at stake. It was doubtless his reputation for blunt honesty and plain speaking that led the three Republicans at the outset to concur in excluding as evidence his correspondence with Senator Wilson.<sup>21</sup> They had begun the attack, but here they were thrown on the defensive.

When questioned, Samuel Hale made no apology for violence. Nor did he conceal or condone injustice and oppression where it had occurred. He reprobated deeds of lawlessness committed by masked men, presumably members of the Ku Klux Klan. But he made it clear that violence had been sporadic only and that the best Southern people disapproved of the outrages committed. And there was, he said, "a great body of men in this county, and in this town, who deplore this evil as much as I do; who discountenance it, who are not friendly to it, and who are shocked at it as much as I am."<sup>22</sup> He denounced the policies of the Radicals, the interference of the military, and the behavior of the carpetbagger. It was these, he said, that had so demoralized society. They were responsible for the disturbances in the State.

The carpetbagger he conceived to be the sum of all the evils. "The existence of the men called carpet-baggers, in this State, has done more to disaffect our people, more to produce these disturbances complained of, than any other cause in the world."<sup>23</sup> Upon that tribe he lavished invective and ridicule—"worthless vagabonds, homeless, houseless, drunken knaves." These men, he believed, had caused more bitterness toward the North than had existed at any time during the War. Southerners, he felt, had had enough to make them out of humor. The character of the carpetbag fraternity coming from the North was, he informed the committee, enough "to cast suspicion upon everybody else from that quarter." He thought that any Northern man appointed to office and coming there under such circumstances,

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<sup>21</sup> *Alabama Testimony*, III, 1812. This correspondence was later incorporated as evidence when the ruling of the chairman was reversed by the committee at Washington.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1823.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1816.

and "holding it despite the will and wishes of the people, shows his total and utter unfitness for the office."<sup>24</sup>

When asked to do so, he proceeded to particulars regarding these "reckless and unprincipled adventurers" and their allies. He pointed out that one delegate to the late Constitutional Convention from Sumter County had been Benjamin Rolfe, "the hero of the two shirts," a man of low and worthless character from New York, whose name was not appended to the Constitution because, it was reported, he had been at the time too intoxicated to inscribe it. Of the other two, one was a Negro, and the other a white of whom he had never heard before the day of the election and who had never been a citizen of the county.<sup>25</sup> Recently a worthless scalawag, "a man of so low and vile a character as to give offense to everybody about," had been appointed to office in the county by the local military commander. "It is irritating, it is provoking, it is exasperating in the highest degree, that the offices of the country should be filled in such a way."<sup>26</sup> He felt it strange that loyal Union men should be passed over in the filling of offices, when they were conferred on "worthless vagabonds" and on men "fresh from rebellion." "I think it has been said by General Grant that he did not think there was one to be found in Alabama, or in the South, fit to be trusted with office. . . . It has embittered those who were loyal during the war."<sup>27</sup> There were enough respectable Republicans in Sumter County to fill all offices. But constantly he returned to the carpetbagger. Whenever his questioners sought to dwell on atrocities committed in the State, he insisted on making it clear that such men had provoked lawlessness.

Despite objections of the Republicans, the minority member read to him his description to Senator Wilson of the members of the Carpetbag Convention which had made the new constitution for the State. He unhesitatingly confirmed it as accurate. He had said: "There has been a great deal said in the conservative press of the State about the members of this body, who and what they were, and where they came from, how long they have

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1825.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1816.

<sup>26</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> *Alabama Testimony*, III, 1827.

been in the State, and whether they were qualified to sit as delegates in the convention or not; much about the way in which they were nominated and elected, and much about the way they conducted themselves as delegates in the convention; much that was true and much that was false, has been said of them. In what I am about to say of them I will confine myself to what I know to be true. Many of them were ignorant, too grossly ignorant for any such station. A large portion of them were newcomers among us, of whom our people knew nothing at all. Their election was the most ridiculous farce ever beheld. I wish you could have seen the poor, ignorant blacks giving in their 'bits of paper,' as they called their printed ballots, when they knew no more of the names on them, who they were, what they were, than you did at the same time in your far-off home. I think it is entirely safe to say that in all the elections ever held in the United States, there has not been so much fraud committed as there was in this one."<sup>28</sup>

The legislation that had been put upon the people by such men, he now declared, was a cause of exasperation. Negroes had been sent "to fill offices and to vote away the rights of the people of this State" and men of property "are now taxed enormously high to pay the enormous swindles put upon them."

Turning to the disfranchised Southerner, he stated that, at the close of the War, he had been of the opinion that the "leading rebels" should be hanged; but since the government had not followed that course, he urged that they be restored to their standing as citizens. They were now "bedeviled by the outcasts of society." To keep them in their present condition, he pointed out, would only keep the mass of the people there discontented as long as they lived.<sup>29</sup>

Midway in his long and tedious examination, Samuel Hale had exclaimed: "Now, gentlemen, enfranchise the disfranchised, and give the government up to the citizens of this State, and there will be harmony sooner than there will be under any other course to be pursued."<sup>30</sup> And that meant political proscription for himself!

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1832.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1827.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1823.

Other Republicans, men of integrity, bore testimony in support of that given by Samuel Hale. The Radicals, nevertheless, had their way in the elections of 1872. But it was to be their last great triumph, for in 1874 Alabama was finally "redeemed" from carpetbag rule, and Samuel Hale lived to rejoice in the election to the presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes, who recalled from the South the troops that were the last prop of carpetbag government. Disabilities imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment were gradually removed, and while at first the removals were made in the interest of the Republican party in the South, as time passed such discrimination ceased.<sup>31</sup>

Few persons today have ever heard of Samuel Hale. For half a century he has lain in an unmarked grave. A prominent historian has placed his name on a list of carpetbaggers of the State.<sup>32</sup> And yet, what Sir William Osler has said of another Alabamian of his time might equally well have been said of Samuel Hale: "To have striven, to have made an effort, to have been true to certain ideals—this alone is worth the struggle."<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Rhodes, *History of The United States*, VI. 435.

<sup>32</sup> Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, p. 703.

<sup>33</sup> Osler, William, *An Alabama Student and Other Biographical Essays* (London, 1926), p. 18.

## UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINIANS TO JEFFERSON<sup>86</sup>

Edited by ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[Concluded from p. 233]

FROM ANNA WILLIS

retherford County broad rever  
15 july 1806

Sir,

I take the freedom to rite to you by way of petition for philip Williams with whome I have been acquainted from his youth I never have Seen or Known any thing but good behaveour and onets—his fater brothers and Sitors are all hear and well thought of—Mr Williams his imployment was teaching se[h]ool and was much approved of by his imployers—pray think of my petition and for his poore old fater that go[e]s moarning every day for the release of his Son—I remain your affactionate fr[i]end and well wisher

*Formerly the wife of Joel Terrell*

N B I would be glad to hear from you and your tender of Spring

FROM JOSEPH BURCH<sup>87</sup>

Wilmington N. Carolina 12<sup>th</sup> Jany 1807

Sir

Some time after my return home from the unfortunate loss of the Revenue Cutter Diligence attached to this Port but lying at Occracock with the Surveyors<sup>88</sup> of the coast where at I lost all my Instruments and Cloaths—except what I had on my back. I was informed by Timothy Bloodworth<sup>89</sup> Esq. Collector of this port that I was discharged from the Service until another cutter was built I have since applied to him for my traveling expenses in returning from Occracock to this Port & was told by him he could not pay without special Order—I have acted in the Capacity of first mate in the Revenue Cutter of this place ever since March 1797, under the authority of a Commission signed by John

<sup>86</sup> All the letters in this group are A.L.S. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>87</sup> Joseph Burch was a first mate on the revenue cutter, *Diligence*, Wilmington, North Carolina.

<sup>88</sup> The *Governor Williams*, a revenue cutter, which was used by William Tatham, who was one of the commissioners appointed by Jefferson, was driven ashore. Tatham also sustained the loss of several valuable effects. Williams, Samuel C., *William Tatham, Wataugan*, p. 16. The survey was completed in 1807. William Tatham's Map of the Coast of North Carolina, Map Division, Library of Congress.

<sup>89</sup> Timothy Bloodworth resigned as a member of the United States Senate from North Carolina, and in 1807 became collector of the port of Wilmington. Ashe, S. A., *Biographical History of North Carolina*, III, 15-25. Also see Bloodworth to Jefferson, December 14, 1802, and January 17, 1804.

Adams President of the United States at that time, and have constantly done my duty in the Service and have moreover continued since the loss of my Commission to examine Vessel[s], coming here from a foreign port Having therefore by the unfortunate loss of the said Cutter in Occracock Road, lost all my cloaths nautical Instruments & what money I had in my Chest

Permit me Sir Respectfully to Solicit your consideration of my case and in your wisdom to grant I may yet continue to receive that support from the service my Station requires.

While in the mean time I crave your pardon for the present application and remain as in Duty bound with great respect

Sir

your most ob<sup>e</sup>. Hble. serv<sup>t</sup>.

FROM THE REPUBLICANS OF WILMINGTON AND NEW HANOVER COUNTY<sup>90</sup>

Sir

The Republicans of Wilmington and County of New Hanover, N. C., having understood through the medium of the public prints, that it is your Intention voluntarily to retire from Office, after the Termination of your appointment; and viewing the present as an important period of our political Relations, in as much as the violent Rage of party Spirit, which at this time unhappily pervades the Union, may furnish the Enemies of our Government, with the means of electing by Collision some one of their ambitious Partisans, should you persist in Retirement; have unanimously resolved to communicate to you their Sentiments on this interesting Subject.—

However inimical the Enemies of our Country may appear to be to Sycophancy & Flattery yet they are lavish in the praise & unbound in their applause of those; who are opposed to its best Interests.—

It is not with this Language, Sir, we propose to address you—but with the Words of Truth & Sincerity—yet we do not consider it inconsistent with the purest principles of real Republicanism, to say to those who have deserved well of their Country.—*You have faithfully performed the Duties enjoined upon you by your Constituents, & therefore have their fullest Confidence & approbation.*—This is the general Sense of the People—This is the Voice of the United America; and as we sincerely join in this Sentiment, we request with them, that you will permit yourself again to be nominated to the presidential chair of the Union.—

We beg leave to add personally and in behalf of the Society we have

<sup>90</sup> The resolution was signed by the committee composed of Ric. Langdon, chairman, A. F. MacNeill, C. Dudley, Jr., and Alamand Hall.

the Honor to represent, that you would believe us to be with our best Wishes for your Felicity, and that you may hereafter receive the richest Reward of your Patriotism—

Sir

Your mo. obt hble serv<sup>s</sup>—

Wilmington, N. C.

Jan. 19<sup>th</sup>. 1807.

FROM GEORGE BUCHANAN<sup>91</sup>

Wadesboro, Anson County, N. Carolina. July 1<sup>st</sup>. 1807

Sir,

I beg leave to submit to your consideration, as a member of the American Philosophical Society, the principle on which, I have conceived, the construction of a machine, capable of perpetuating its own motion, is practicable.

The following outline embraces the principle. Let a wheel, of an adopted make to receive its revolution from a current of air, be inclosed in an airtight trunk, as snugly fitted to it as its requisite strength & the unimpeded motion of the wheel will admit. Into the trunk, & a small distance through it, so as to give the most effectual direction to the current on the wheel, let a funnel-like pipe for admitting the necessary quantity of air, be inserted. Let this admitted current of air find its outlet through a similar pipe leading from this into another trunk similarly constructed & fitted out with its wheel—& let this pipe extend through its (the second) trunk the requisite distance to direct the continued current of air, as before, Let 1, 2, 3, or as many more trunks, with their wheels, as may be found necessary, be continued on by the same kind of tubular connexion—& to the last pipe, at the termination of the series of trunks, let a large air pump, or pumps, be affixed.

The trunks are to be arranged circularly, with the axes of the wheels raised perpendicularly, their elevated end extending through the trunks to receive cogwheels, so as to be brought to a common bearing on one large wheel prepared to receive their united force. This large wheel is to work the pump.—

The idea is briefly sketched. It would be superfluous to go into any detail of contrivances, till the assumed basis for the plan be tested. You will particularly oblige me by giving your opinion whether the application of the principle, under any modification, to machinery, can be productive of any real accession of force.

I am your very humble servt.

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<sup>91</sup> George Buchanan was a skilled mechanic.

FROM NATHANIEL ALEXANDER<sup>92</sup>

Executive Department.

Raleigh N. Carolina July 14<sup>th</sup>. 1807

Sir

At the request of Capt. Calvin Jones of the Wake troop of Cavalry I have the pleasure of transmitting to you certain resolutions, entered into by said troop expressive of their feelings on a certain extraordinary occasion; together with an address from Capt. Jones on behalf of his troop making a tender of their services under certain circumstances

I am sir with highest respect and consideration

Your most Obedt

FROM WILLIAM TATHAM<sup>93</sup>Newbern 7<sup>th</sup>. October 1807.

Dr. Sir/

An indisposition which has followed me into this country, and attacked me with slight fevers and sweatings, ever since I left Lynhaven Bay,<sup>94</sup> had prevented me from communicating to you such observations as I might have thought useful to you in the field of Public economy at the opening of the ensuing session of Congress. I am now so fully recovered as to be able to set out this day (by water) to Norfolk; from whence I hope to have the means of some useful transmission. If any thing occurs to you, in the interim, your commands may meet me there; and I need not assure you, I trust, that they will be promptly attend to. I dislike many things I meet with in these parts; but, of all an aristocratic abuse of the principle of commercial punctuality in the Banking System of this State; whereby, I perceive, the industrious & middle man is made sacrifice to the aggrandizement of a few, Real property depreciated, tyranny promoted, and our Enemies served by banking agents in the very bosom of our Country.

<sup>92</sup> Nathaniel Alexander was educated at Princeton, where he studied medicine; served in the Revolution and the Legislature of North Carolina; was governor of the State from December 10, 1805, to December 1, 1807; married the daughter of Col. Thomas Polk; died at Salisbury, North Carolina, March 8, 1808. Ashe, S. A., *Biographical History of North Carolina*, I, 39-42.

<sup>93</sup> William Tatham was an author and engineer. He was born in England in 1752, and came to Virginia in 1769. From James River he went into the Watauga settlement, where he was very active. Here he met William R. Davie, under whom he later studied law. In March, 1784, he was admitted to the bar of North Carolina. He spent the next two years exploring the rivers of the State. In 1786 he founded the settlement of Lumberton, and in 1789 represented Robeson County in the North Carolina Assembly. Between 1795 and 1805 he spent a great deal of time in Europe. Soon after his return to the United States in 1805, Jefferson appointed him as one of the commissioners to survey the coast of North Carolina. He also held several other federal positions. He committed suicide in Richmond, Virginia, February 22, 1819. Williams, *William Tatham, Wataugan*, pp. 1-20.

<sup>94</sup> Near Norfolk, Virginia.

It would seem to me that this Evil might be greatly abridged by the extension of *branch banks of the United States*, to the entire extermination of such an unseemly individual influence.

I have the honor to be

Dr. Sir Yr. obt H st

FROM JEREMIAH MARTIN<sup>95</sup>

The Petition of Jeremiah Martin of Newbern in the State of North Carolina merchant, humbly sheweth that in the month of April last past the Brigantine Holland owned & loaded by your petitioner sailed on a voyage for the Island of Guadalup from the port of Newbern aforesaid under the command of Captain Simeon Pend[le]ton, and having arrived safe at her port of destination disposed of her outward bound cargo, & took in a load partly on freight for the port of Philadelphia. That in a short time after sailing for Philadelphia the Holland was captured by a British privateer & carried into St. Kitts for examination, where she was acquitted & sailed again for Philadelphia, but instead of pursuing her voyage to that port the captain either really being or pretending to be forced by bad weather put into Ocracock & advised your petitioner of his arrival & situation but kept concealed from him the circumstance of his having brought three negroes in the Brig, the importation whereof is forbidden by the laws of the State of North Carolina.<sup>96</sup> But the fact of his having brought them in coming accidentally to the ears of your petitioner he proceeded immediately to make the same known to the collector of the port<sup>97</sup> of Newbern, and pursuing the best advice he could obtain, put himself to great trouble & considerable expense in get[ti]ng possession of the negroes (they having been previously disposed of to different people by said Pendleton) & had them rushed to St. Kitts

Your Petitioner Sir then shows that the Holland needing repairs was permitted by the deputy on the absence of the principal Collector of Ocracock to proceed up to Newbern where it was supposed the affair would likely be better understood, and the steps most proper to be taken pursued, under the advice of the district attorney resident at that place, That on the arrival of the Holland at Newbern, it was judged indisputably necessary she should be seized or forfeited to the United States.

Your petitioner Conscious that no blame could possibly attach to him, that in employing Captain Pendleton he had done no more than any other prudent man would have done, he having untill now supported an

<sup>95</sup> Jeremiah Martin was a wealthy and influential merchant of New Bern, North Carolina.

<sup>96</sup> After May 1, 1795, North Carolina prohibited the "importation and bringing in of slaves and indented servants of colour." The act of 1794 states: "Such persons could not be bought, sold or hired by any person whatever." A fine of £100 was to be imposed on all violators of the statute. *Laws of North Carolina, 1794*, ch. 2.

<sup>97</sup> Francis Hawks.

exceptionable character, and being advised that his case was one removable by the Secretary of the Treasury,<sup>98</sup> proceeded agreeably to the directions of the laws on such cases made & provided to cause a full statement of all the facts to be laid before that honorable officer, as well more fully and at large appear by a reference to the statement or memorial itself & the documents accompanying it among the records of the proper department of the Treasury, and to which your memorialist prays that your Excellency will refer.

Your petitioner further states that, as he is informed by his counsel, the Secretary of the treasury declined interfering in the case on the ground that he had no power to remit in cases arising under the laws respecting Slave trade.<sup>99</sup> Whereby your petitioner is left remediless in the premises otherwise than by the interference of the Executive of the United States. He therefore humbly prays that your Excellency will be pleased to take his case under consideration, and direct a nolle prosequi to be entered to the proceedings carrying on against the Holland or grant him such other relief as the circumstances may require & as in duty bound he will ever pray &c

10<sup>th</sup>. November 1807

FROM WILLIAM TATHAM

*Private Letter.*

Newbern 10<sup>th</sup>. February 1808.

Dr. Sir.

I drop you a note by this Post, chiefly to furnish you with the readiest address, if any occasion occurs to call for my services. — I presume the many important matters before Government at present, may be the reason why I am not honored with any communication from yourself, or the heads of Department, touching my unfinished surveys about the entrance of the Chesapeake, the Gunboat Canals, Maritime Infantry & other matters suggested by me before I left Norfolk: it will not be my fault if these subjects are neglected by those to whom, I doubt not, you have referred them; & as soon as possible I shall be happy to be employed.

I have been, in the interim, engaged in the Culture of a Farm, and the planting of a vineyard, which I have endeavored to make exemplary, by the Labour of my own hands, correct laying out, and straight fences; and I am adding a cheap and simple Cowshed, of which I will endeavor to send you a model. Your Plough<sup>100</sup> is recently depointed

<sup>98</sup> Albert Gallatin.

<sup>99</sup> Article I, Section IX, of the Constitution of the United States states that "The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to" 1808, "but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person."

<sup>100</sup> For a description of Jefferson's plough see Randall, Henry S., *The Life of Thomas Jefferson*, I, 501; II, 307-310.

in the delivery here, & I flatter myself will prove useful. – I have found the culture of Grapes throughout this Country a subj[ect] of more importance than is general imagined, & the annual production of home made wine is greater than any other part I have visited in the S. States – I have a small Quantity of wine, made by my own direction, which is very similar & perhaps not inferior to the Rota Tent (Vindo Tulo de Rota) of Spain: I extracted the syrup by simple *baking*, not by beating the Pulp; & I believe this to be an improved method of some importance.

The continuance of the Embargo seems here (where we feel it much) to be a measure so judicious, in the public opinion, that I have conversed with no intelligent Planter who would not willingly pay even a tax to support the Commercial loss in this particular, if such could be correctly (say chastly) ascertained. Such a display of general Patriotism, on an occasion which I have hopes will enable you to overturn all the feeble theories of European policy, can not but be as pleasing to those in power as I confess it is to my heart, as an humble Citizen.

I have, this post, answered a letter from Dr. Mease<sup>101</sup> of Philadelphia who (seemingly in conjunction with other scientific Characters) has expressed his surprise that the Philosophical Society have rejected my paper on Longevity. They have requested the paper for publication in Coxe's Medical Museum for which I have sent orders. –

I have the honour to be

Dr. Sir Yours affectionate

FROM JAMES LYNE<sup>102</sup>

North Carolina Granville C.ty

March 30. 1808.

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 13 Instant came to hand last evening & agreeable to your request I will make the necessary inquiry relative to Mr. Beverly Daniels political sentiments and communicate them to you by the next mail as he resides some distance from me its too late for me to obtain such satisfactory information as I could wish by this mail but believe him to be a republican – As to his private character he stands high in the esteem of all his acquaintances & is much respected as a worthy Citizen – he is the younger of two Brothers carrying on a mercantile business on the Waters of Grassey Creek and Son of Charley

<sup>101</sup> James Mease was a noted scientist, doctor, and author.

<sup>102</sup> James Lyne was a prominent citizen of Granville County and a member of the committee which elected John Taylor colonel of the Granville mounted volunteers. Clark, Walter (ed.), *North Carolina State Records*, XXII, 156-158.

Daniel – He is considered a young man of strict integrity and possessing abilities, I have not a doubt if he was appointed Marshall<sup>103</sup> of this State but that he would give satisfaction – We are all well – our prospects for the ensuing Crop promising the people throughout this Country highly approve of the conduct of Congress in laying the Embargo<sup>104</sup> – every person seems to feel the necessity of the measure taken & in order to meet the event without distress are making every preparation to cultivate such articles of manufactory as to cloth themselves without being put to any more pleas for supplies from any nation on earth. Bessy Martin has another fine son – Believe me to Remain with Sentiments of much Esteem & Regard

Dear Sir

Your mo[st] obt. sev<sup>t</sup>.

FROM JAMES LYNE

No. Carolina Granville County

Apl 6 1808 –

Dear Sir

In answer to yours of the 13 March, I have been able to ascertain that Mr. Beverly Daniel is a true Republican, of amiable character & possessing considerable abilities, of decent deportment & sobriety. I find from enquiry that if he should be appointed Marshall<sup>105</sup> of this State that it would afford much satisfaction to the adjoining districts. Believe me to Remain with Sentiments of Regard & Esteem

Your mo. obt. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

FROM BENJAMIN SMITH<sup>106</sup>

Belvedere Near Wilmington. N C

April 19.<sup>th</sup> – 1808 –

Sir

It is with great pleasure I comply with the duty assigned me by the Grand Jury of Brunswick County; in forwarding to you sundry Resolutions passed at this term of court week –

These might have been unnecessary, had no attempt been previously made to give a different expression of the Sentiments of the County,

<sup>103</sup> See Nathaniel Macon's letter of April 25, 1808, relative to the appointment of Daniel.

<sup>104</sup> The Embargo act of December 22, 1807, was signed by Jefferson January 8, 1808. John Randolph called it "a dose of chicken broth." It was an embargo without a time limit.

<sup>105</sup> See Nathaniel Macon's letter to Jefferson, April 25, 1808.

<sup>106</sup> Benjamin Smith, a former Federalist, was won over to Republicanism, and was elected by the Republicans as governor of North Carolina. Ashe, S. A., *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 401-406. Also see Timothy Bloodworth to Jefferson, January 17, 1804, above p. 279.

which ended in some instructions to our Representative<sup>107</sup> to endeavour to procure a Repeal of the Act imposing the Embargo—

Permit me to embrace this opportunity of assuring you that I have the Honor to be with the highest Consideration

Sir

very respectfully

Your most obd.<sup>t</sup>

FROM NATHANIEL MACON<sup>108</sup>

Washington 25 April 1808

Sir

The enclosed came to hand after the nomination of Mr. Daniel<sup>109</sup> had been made, and are only now sent for your satisfaction

I am sir

Yr. most obt – Sevt –

FROM WILLIAM TATHAM

Craven County N. Carolina

6.<sup>th</sup> May 1808.

*Dr. Sir.*

I have just finished completing my agricultural designs for this year, leaving the Plantation in fine order, & the crop under good fence having a straight line fence of six feet high for all partitions on a plan new in this country, & which will, I hope, prove a profitable example. [I] shall leave this crop (now planted) in the hands of those who remain, & remove towards Harbour Island tomorrow in order to pursue my objects at that place till I hear something from the Federal City touching the intended operations of Government and the employment in which my services can be rendered useful: I shall continue to improve, as far as possible, my knowledge of those interesting parts of the United States, their defence and public economy. In the interim, the surest address to me, should occasion require it, will be to care Francis Hawkes<sup>110</sup> Esq. Port Collector, Newbern.

The Commercial interests of that Place seem to be very generally opposed to the present administration, Mr. Pickering's<sup>111</sup> letter has

<sup>107</sup> Thomas Kenan.

<sup>108</sup> Nathaniel Macon wrote this on the last day of the first session of the tenth Congress. He was speaker of the House from 1801 to 1807, and continued to be one of the most influential members even after he was defeated as speaker.

<sup>109</sup> Beverly Daniel. See James Lyne to Jefferson, March 30 and April 6, 1808.

<sup>110</sup> Francis Hawks was the son of John Hawks, the architect of Governor Tryon's palace, New Bern, North Carolina.

<sup>111</sup> Timothy Pickering.

been reprinted [in a] Pamphlet, & Mr. Stanly<sup>112</sup> (one of your inveterate [o]pposers) is pushed against Mr. Blackledge.<sup>113</sup> So far as I can judge, the Majority of our Citizens in Town are as loyal subjects to John Bull, in their hearts, as any about St. Jame's; and would willingly mark similar lines of distinction in Society. I think we shall discover in the result of your Embargo (which may God preserve many years if need be.) that too much of our unnecessary Commerce is botomed on British Capital, and the sweat of our brow. invested into those illicit channels which enable forcing countries to tyrannize: I learn, through the measures of the City, that *our* Sailors retiring to agricultural pursuits is already felt by those who would rather have them impressed. I hope this disposition to seek more natural Employment will encrease, and we shall shortly turn our attention to those branches of our public economy which lead to substitute domestic culture, domestic manufactures, domestic intercourse, domestic reciprocity, domestic commerce, & domestic consumption through the territories of the Union. Such, I flatter myself is the general disposition of our *country* citizens, and if the pursuit of this policy should, by opening all our coastwise & interim communications, render our Ships Themselves an article of commerce in our own ports, & leave every individual the means of wallowing in peace & abundance, what & who are the losses we have to regret in the departure of foreign tools & foreign agents whose nefarious transactions have too long stained the purity of an American flag on which they have neither the claims of equitable right or general interest of the community for the protection which it affords, & which Mr. Pickerings mistaken theory would plead for, tho' at the useful expence of the blood & treasure of the people whose intrinsic interests & pacific inclinations have placed them perfectly independent of the wars & commerce of Quarreling Europe.

I have the honor to be

Dr. Sir, in haste

Your obt Hble

P.S. I find (through the confidential sight of a correspondence between a person of high standing in this state & one in New York) that the

<sup>112</sup> John Stanly was a pronounced Federalist. He defeated his Republican opponent, Richard D. Spaight, in the Congressional election of 1800. Due to political quarrels, they fought a duel, September 5, 1802, which resulted in Spaight's death. Governor Williams pardoned Stanly, who again became an active politician. He died August 3, 1834. Wheeler, John H., *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, pp. 112-115; Gilpatrick, Delbert Harold, *Jeffersonian Democracy In North Carolina*, pp. 115, 184, 242.

<sup>113</sup> William Blackledge was a Republican. He served in the North Carolina Assembly, and represented the State in the House of Representatives in Congress from October 17, 1803, until March 3, 1809; and from November 4, 1811, to March 3, 1813. He was defeated by John Stanly in the election of 1808 for this post. *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, pp. 916-918.

removal of the Court of Portugal<sup>114</sup> has opened a new field of speculation of vast extent; and I am inclined to think encouragement to emigration thither is offered, & *will be given*, to men of talents & enterprise amongst our Citizens. — Whether this is a British plan (which I suspect) time must determine; but, be whose it may, it ought to be watched, and converted (as *it may be*) to the consolidation of *American* power — I am greatly recovered of my dislocations, & shall be active someway or other. —

YRS.

FROM WILLIAM TATHAM

[Sir:]

I have directed Mrs. Bousal, Sir, to transmit to you the second printed Pamphlet on the subject of the Canal which I have the honor to propose from this port to the Carolina, by way of Kempsville & the North Landing; embracing also a latteral naval cut from Kempsville to Lynhaven river, designed for bettering the defence of this place & the United States in general. I have also persevered, under the severest affliction by cramps & lingering illness, till I have carried (apparently) one general conviction in favor of the measure; and I have transmitted, by the delegates of this country, a respectable memorial to the legislature with a handsome topographical Survey, & *general* plan of the project annexed; praying that the President of the United States may be authorized to carry this undertaking into effect. &c, as heretofore stated.

The most essential *detail* of these plans I hold in reserve for the President of the United States, as well as the most essential parts of the topography of the country; and till he requires them I shall not put it in the power of any other person to supplant me in either the credit or just remuneration.

I had hopes, Sir, that the people here would have forwarded a mission for me to the Federal City; but the thing wants a leader of suitable zeal & Energy; and, unless the Executive has cause to call for those documents, which will employ me a considerable time in public service, & which I shall not be ashamed to submit to the present, or future, generation, as most highly important to the public safety and prosperity, I do not see any certainty that I shall have the honor of seeing you again at Washington.

Thus Sir (whatever may be the cause of a strange & unaccountable coolness towards me on the part of administration) I have continued

<sup>114</sup> In the summer of 1807 Napoleon ordered Portugal to close her ports to British commerce, to retain British subjects, and to seize British property in her realm. Portugal refused to enforce the last two measures. This led to the treaty of October 22, 1807, whereby England agreed to furnish Portugal a squadron to convey the royal family and court to Brazil in case of a French invasion. When John landed at Bahia, Brazil, in January, 1808, he promulgated a decree which opened Brazil's ports to foreign commerce. In March the fugitive dynasty arrived at Rio de Janeiro, the new seat of the Portuguese government. Robertson, William S., *History of Latin America*, pp. 153-154.

to second the views of government to the end; & the interests of this country forty years, if I live to see next april<sup>115</sup> The result had been that, all my natural connexion have abandoned me, I have been disinherited whenever it has been practicable, dispossessed even by servants on Estates where I cannot be disinherited in law, all monies which have fallen from my deceased relatives or my personal industry has been freely dissipated in support of our common cause; and I exist (only) to see myself & Children reduced to penury and neglect without being able to learn whether I owe my misfortunes to common casualties, or to the dark & secret whisper of some intriguing villain who is more fortunate in favor taking those means which would continue me useful in society.

I have the honor to be,  
Sir, your Hble Sert

Norfolk Nov<sup>r</sup>. 30.<sup>th</sup> 1808.

FROM HENRY POTTER<sup>116</sup>

[Ra]leigh 30<sup>th</sup> - December 1808.

Dear Sir

I have read the petition of William Crockett<sup>117</sup> I have to express my

<sup>115</sup> In April, 1769, William Tatham came to Virginia at the age of seventeen with only a few cents in his pocket. He found employment with "Messrs. Carter and Trent, reputable merchants on James River." Williams, *William Tatham, Wataugan*, p. 2.

<sup>116</sup> Jefferson appointed Henry Potter judge of the Federal court in North Carolina in 1801. See Nathaniel Macon's letters to Jefferson, May 1 and May 24, 1801; and July 17, 1802, above pp. 271, 276.

<sup>117</sup> On November 1, 1808, the inhabitants of Hillsboro and elsewhere petitioned Jefferson to pardon William Crockett. The petition reads as follows (Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress):

"State of North Carolina Orange County  
Town of Hillsborough November 1st 1808

To his Excellency Thomas Jefferson Esquir[e] President of the United States—

The Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of the Town of Hillsborough, and elsewhere, respectfully sheweth unto your Excellency, that a certain William Crockett late of Person County in the State aforesaid, was arrested, and put into close Prison in this Town on the 20<sup>th</sup>. day of April A. D. 1807—under a charge of passing four counterfeit Bank Bills of the Branch Bank of New York of one hundred dollars each; that on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of November in the same year, he was put upon trial at the Federal Court in the city of Raleigh, and was duly convicted of passing the said Bills, and there on was sentenced to three years imprisonment from that period; that the said Crockett passed the said Bills to a certain George Houser of Stokes County, for which he was to receive their full value in other currency; that the said Houser immediately thereafter presented said Bills to the inspection of a Gentleman who professed to be a judge of such paper, and who pronounced them to be base; that thereupon Crockett was soon arrested, and the amount of the Bills called for was never paid to him.

"Your Petitioners further state to your Excellency that they are informed and believe, that the said Houser upon the trial in the city of Raleigh, being the prosecutor, deposed that he had no reason to believe that Crockett knew the said Bills to be counterfeit when he passed them to him—Your Petitioners farther represent, that Crockett, at the commencement of his imprisonment was totally illiterate, and therefore an easy subject upon whom the artful, and cunning could practice their fraud and imposition; that so far as his General character is known to them, it is totally exempt from any criminal allegations whatsoever; except for which he is now suffering; that he is young and therefore not much versed in the wiles and stratagems of the world—Your Petitioners have deemed it necessary to be thus particular & explicit in delineating the true situation and character of the said Crockett, because they are fully apprized of the extensive mischief that might result to Society, were Executive clemency to be extended to a subject unworthy of that distinguished favor.

"They trust, however, that when your Excellency shall take into consideration the youth,

regret that the facts which appeared on his trial afford no ground for a representation favorable to him. — I was perfectly satisfied with the verdict of the Jury; and no fact has come to my knowledge since the trial, to do away the impression the proof made on my mind at the time. — Still however, he *may* be a proper object of clemency at this time: but of that I can give no opinion — because I have no knowledge of the facts set forth in the petition, except as they relate to the trial. The petition is herewith enclosed.

With much respect & esteem

I am D. Sir

Yr. mo. obt.

FROM WILLIAM TATHAM<sup>118</sup>

Norfolk Jany 17<sup>th</sup>. 1809.

Sir/.

A few days ago, in conversation with an officer of high standing in the Naval Department, with whom I had held considerable intercourse, and mutual opinion on the auxiliary mode of defence by Gun-boats, during the affair of the Chesapeake, he intimated such a change of sentiment in favor of increasing the navy for the purposes of external service, and treated the former system so lightly, as to induce me to suppose his apparently changed ideas may, in some degree, have influenced that Department towards the neglect of the proposed canal<sup>119</sup> from Kempsville to Lynhaven & to the North landing — at the head of *North River of Currituck*, not *North River of Albemarle Sound*, which some persons have confounded with it, for want of a more correct topographical knowledge.

In hopes of being able to reach the Federal City, and believing this topic to be of the utmost importance to the prosperity & protection of the United States; knowing from my own personal intercourse & in-

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the inexperience, and the long confinement which the Prisoner hath already suffered combined, with that reformation and repentance which seem to have been wrought upon him, and that the end of the law hath been by nature, duration, and publicit[y] of his punishment, you will extend to him that mercy which the constitution hath reposed in the breast as the Exe[c]utive alone, tha[t] you will pardon the offence with which he stands convicted, and restore him again to his friends, and to his liberty. Should your Excellency in your wisdom and discretion think proper to pardon him with conditions annexed hereto he is perfectly willing to enlist in the United States Service under Captain Atkinson now recruiting in this Town, and your Petitioners will ever pray."

This petition was signed by forty-two men.

<sup>118</sup> This was perhaps written after Tatham became a resident of Virginia, but it relates to a question vital to North Carolina. For a list of Tatham's letters to Jefferson, see the *Calendar of Jefferson's Correspondence*, VIII, 521-524.

<sup>119</sup> Tatham was unsuccessful in having his inland waterway project accepted, for it was not in keeping with Jefferson's economy policy. When North Carolina considered making a deep cut through the sand bars at Nags Head, Norfolk became alarmed. In 1840 Colonel Cozert surveyed the canal route from Kempsville to the head of North River. However, this route was abandoned for one from Great Bridge to North River and Currituck Sound. The work on the canal was completed in 1859. The first steamship passed through the locks of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal on January 9, 1859. Wertenbaker, Thomas J., *Norfolk, Historic Southern Port*, p. 203.

vestigations that very few of our Citizens, especially those high in office, are minutely acquainted with these interesting premises; knowing also that they are not correctly laid down in any published maps or charts; still more, believing that there are too many individuals (even in Congress) who make mock of public good where it stands in competition with their own pockets in private speculation; and aware of the public advantages which may be derived from my having anticipated those precautionary measures which appear to be overlooked in search of more distant & extensive concerns, I have (at the expense of near four thousand dollars, and at the risk of my private ruin) prepared myself for submitting to the President of the United [States] a detail ver[y] far beyond what I have judged necessary, for Legislative purposes, in procuring from the Gener[al] Assembly of this Commonwealth the requisite authority for operations by the Executive of the General government; which subject is now before the house, & voted reasonable on the second reading.

The Report of the Committee, however, appears to have omitted that very essential point, *a lateral branch to Lynhaven*, on which head my written communications, and printed pamphlets,<sup>120</sup> heretofore transmitted to the president and heads of Departments &c, will have been sufficiently explicit, for all ends which should be known to others than those admitted in Cabinet Council, and theretofore, circumstanced as I am, I trust Sir you will not deem it an intrusion beyond the right of a zealous & active Citizen, if I continue to urge such motives as induce me to persist i[n] enforcing the measures of safety I have so repeatedly proposed.

The entrance of the Capes of Virginia is (what the Indians emphatically term) the great Door of the Country: it is that grand & central Estuary through which maritime nations will always assail the capitol of the United States. Lynhaven Bay is the strong hold of their largest ships while the great navigable streams of the Chesapeake & those which fall into Hampton road, enable them to distribute their smaller vessels, offensively, through many hundred miles expanse of our Country, on various [pr]ojects & pretexts, all of them fraught with discordant mischief & tending to employ a ten fold force on the defensive, to run this Country to a ten fold expense, and to compel the marching, counter marching, fatigue, disgust, & dissatisfaction of our troops, without ever risking [a]n action.

Now to oppose these evils, & the ill consequences, [w]hich flow from them, (appart from the advantages of deriving revenue, mutual accommodation, popular fraternity, common intercourse, & general Union)

<sup>120</sup> Tatham's reports on inland waterways are preserved in Jefferson's Papers, Library of Congress. Tatham offered to sell his entire collection of books, maps, manuscripts, and surveys relative to the topography and public economy of the United States, but Congress never appropriated the money. In his letter of February 10, 1806, in which he offered to sell his collection, he is said to have been the first man to define "the functions of a national Library of the United States." Williams, *William Tatham, Watagan*, pp. 16-17.

nature has furnished (her quota, at least) of a means of defence which she seems to have given to the United States exclusively; for but little of the works of art are requisite to complete a coastwise navigation (internally) from Boston to Beaufort in North Carolina: which, with some little increase of proportionate expense, may be afterwards extended, *inland & inshore*, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Louisiana & Mexico.— And, in regard to the more immediate safety of the Coast & interior Country, from Cape Fear to the head of the Chesapeake inclusively, Nature has been so bountiful to us that about twelve to fifteen miles of Canal, with some trifling deepening, will enable our Gun-boat force to pass & re-pass unmolested, although the most powerful fleet of European Tyrants were at anchor in Lynhaven Bay. And, without lessening the views of those who wish to come in competition with the British navy to the power & size of our Fleets, or without deeming it necessary to depend entirely on Gun boats for any contemplated victory to be obtained in Lynhaven bay, may we not naturally promise ourselves an adequate return for our trouble and expence — if 1<sup>st</sup>. — we can annoy them at their primary anchorage, — if — 2<sup>dly</sup>. — can retreat (even from disaster) to the timeous defence of Norfolk, in eighteen miles while they have to approach it at the distance of fifty miles — if 3<sup>dly</sup> — we can be in a condition to pass perhaps (at will) the strongest position they can occupy in the Chesapeake; thereby commanding the Flank or rear of all their smaller force & detachments, thus reducing our armies of disposable troops to a smaller number — if 4<sup>thly</sup>. we can pass those troops without fatigue wear [and] tear, or the expensive incumbrance of waggons, from one side to the other of this extensive continent. — if 5<sup>thly</sup>. we can embody the maritime or military force of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, & Carolina, at a favorable rendezvous near the entrance of the Chesapeake by Tellegraphic signal. — if 6<sup>thly</sup>. — we can retreat from ultimate disaster at Norfolk, into the inland seas of North Carolina; — and, if 7<sup>thly</sup>. — Our Gun-boats can keep two hundred miles of that coast clear of an Enemy by defending a few inlets where the deepest channel does not afford more than seven foot water? —

Perhaps Sir, it might not be impossible (appart from commercial considerations, added to those [of] Revenue & Finance) to submit to the Executive reflexion a few farther questions heretofore printed on the subject of a maritime Infantry establishment, floating Batteries &c, brought with maritime military & political expediency; but it is of more instantaneous importance to the public interest and safety to call to the notice of administration another view of the subject presented in the interference of certain private designs which are now on the topic, in competition with the major plan which I have had the honor to offer and forward in the Virginia Legislature; a few individuals, Sir, have proposed to me repeatedly a plan which would

partially answer the Ends of Carolina intercourse; which might occasionally answer the purposes of military conveyance indeed; and (which if of more immediate importance to myself & those dependent on me) would rescue me from starving on the tedious expectations of virtuous & uniform perseverance. — You and I, Sir, possess an experimental knowledge of public commotions in the year 1776; and, if common understanding can be supposed to gain knowledge by so long an apprenticeship to art & mystery of public Economy, ought we not to appreciate the lessons of that period above all earthly considerations? — We know the unfortunate propensity of vengeneous — *to be satisfied with make-shift, and never to render any thing perfect while such a substitute is at hand*: I have my fears, Sir, that if so partial a facility as a substitute now contemplated by railroad should be completed on private funds,<sup>121</sup> that this temporary accommodation may put Government also into a [l]ethargy from which nothing will rouse them, till the absolute necessity of repelling our invaders will render the revival of Mr. Gallatins measures more expensive, & still more difficult to execute.

I have the honor to be with high consideration

Sir,

Yr. obt. H st.

FROM JAMES HAMILTON

North Carolina Granville Cou[nt]y

Williamsber 16<sup>th</sup>. April 1812

Sir

Mr. Robert Hamilton of Petersburg wrote you Some time ago, requesting the favour of you to notify the Subscribers to our obligations given Mr. McLure now of your neighborhood, that the same has been assigned to me, and that the conditions on the part of Mr. McLure have been complied with — He has not received an answer from you

As there are several debts which I have assumed to pay for Mr. McLure out of the money arising from this obligation and the several persons to whom they are due to appear to be very urgent in their applications. You would infinitely oblige me if you will give the necessary notification so that the money may be lodged in the Bank as soon as possible

<sup>121</sup> Communication with North Carolina was exceedingly important to the development of Norfolk. It was the seaport for northeastern North Carolina. For instance, the *Norfolk Argus*, March 13, 1856, stated that "The Old North State has appropriated nearly as much works looking to Norfolk as Virginia herself, our principal trade is with her farmers, and a large number of our best citizens are natives of her soil. The United States ceded Alexandria to Virginia, why not Virginia cede Norfolk to North Carolina?"

The completion of the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal in 1859 was the beginning of better communication with the Albemarle section of North Carolina. The Elizabeth City and Norfolk railroad was chartered in 1870, but its construction was postponed until January 1, 1881. This became the Norfolk and Southern, which extends to Charlotte, North Carolina. Wertenbaker, *Norfolk, Historic Southern Port*, p. 305.

I am truly sorry to occasion you so much trouble in this business, but I have no other means by which I could give the notice necessary – and in your letter to Mr Macon<sup>122</sup> you were good enough to say that you would take this trouble upon Yourself

The papers have been returned to me & the difficulty I shall find in obtaining the money from the Banks will now be considerable, having very little intercourse with Richmond – I will therefore thank you to direct that the money may be lodged in the Bank of Richmond (or rather that of Petersburg if equally convenient) subject to my order accompanying, the paper subscribed as I shall have to send by a person immediately from this neighborhood to have the business negotiated

I shall wait for a letter from you, for information where the money is deposited as aforesaid – with respect

I am

Sir

Your obed. servt

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Washington 7 Jany 1816

Sir

The Legislature of North Carolina<sup>123</sup> has ordered a full size statue of General Washington of the best marble and workmanship to be procured and put up in the Capitol of the State. The Governor<sup>124</sup> who is authorized to carry the order into execution, has requested me to ascertain whether one worthy the character is to represent & the state which erects it, can be made in the United States, and the sum that it will probably cost, if it cannot be got in this country; the best means of getting one from Italy, the time it may require and the probable cost there

Relying on your known and uniform willingness to give information, whenever it is asked, I have ventured to trouble you on this subject, with which I am entirely unacquainted. It is proper that I should state to you, that it is my intention, to transmit the answer you may give to the Governor<sup>125</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Nathaniel Macon.

<sup>123</sup> By an act of the Assembly of December, 1815, the governor was authorized to erect a statue of Washington. There was no limit of cost.

<sup>124</sup> Governor William Miller immediately communicated with Senators James Turner and Nathaniel Macon relative to purchasing the statue. As a result of their investigations, the famous Italian sculptor, Canova, was commissioned to do the work for \$10,000. It was unveiled December 24, 1821. Connor, R. D. W., "Canova's Statue of Washington," *Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission*, Bulletin No. 8.

<sup>125</sup> Jefferson recommended that Canova carve the statue. Jefferson to Macon, January 22, 1816. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

That the evening of your life may be as happy as the meridian has been useful, is the sincere prayer of

Sir

Your unfeigned friend  
& Hble-sevt -

FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON JEFFREYS<sup>126</sup>

Red House N°. C Feby 17<sup>th</sup>. 1817.

Dear Sir).

A Society has been established at this place for the promotion of Agriculture and rural affairs A Book entitled the "Arator" by Colo. Taylor<sup>127</sup> of Caroline Va - has awakened us to a sense of the importance of the subject and has shown us how little we know of a pursuit in on which not only our own individual comfort depends, but also the prosperity and independence of our country. A few spirited gentlemen in our neighborhood have organized themselves into a Society for the laudable purpose of awakening the attention of the people of our county<sup>128</sup> to the important subject of husbandry, and of convincing them of the necessity of making some improvements therein -

We have resolved to establish a Library to consist of Books treating exclusively on the subject of Agriculture & rural affairs - Will you be so good as to lend us your assistance in making out a catalogue of Books<sup>129</sup> - of such books as will constitute a valuable *agricultural library* not only for our own instruction and improvement, but also for that of our rising generation - In addressing you this letter I am aware of the *oppressive* correspondence which you have to attend to - I will not insist upon an answer - but should you find leisure; I can assure you that the Society would feel grateful and happy in receiving your aid & information in our laudable efforts of advancing the interest of agriculture - To whom can we apply more properly than to yourself - who ardently wishes for the prosperity, happiness and independence of your country and who is qualified to give us the requested information, not only from an extensive knowledge of the subject, but from the practical attention which you have given it.

In your communication, to me, a few remarks on horizontal<sup>130</sup> ploughing would be received with much pleasure - This is a subject in which we are much interested as our lands are very hilly and broken -

<sup>126</sup> George Washington Jeffreys was secretary to the Agricultural Society of Red House.

<sup>127</sup> John Taylor's "Arator" was a series of essays on agriculture, which went through at least six editions.

<sup>128</sup> Caswell County.

<sup>129</sup> Jefferson made an extensive list and enclosed it in his letter of March 3, 1817. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>130</sup> Jefferson carefully explained the advantages of horizontal ploughing which his son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph, had experimented with for fifteen years. Jefferson to Jeffreys, March 3, 1817. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

Can hilly land be ploughed *horizontally* in such a manner as to retain the water and prevent it from washing the soil to the bottoms? – We have understood that you have turned your attention to the practice of horizontal ploughing – We should therefore be happy to avail ourselves of such remarks and such information as you may give us on the subject – Such a catalogue of Books as you may set down for us we will endeavor to procure –

A letter addressed to me at the post office Red House N<sup>o</sup>. C. will be received and duly laid before the Society –

Yours very Respectfully

FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON JEFFREYS

Red House N. C April 8<sup>th</sup>. 1817.

Venerable Sir).

Your letter of 3<sup>rd</sup>. ultimo.<sup>131</sup> with an inclosed catalogue of Books, together with a model of a plough<sup>132</sup> was duly received – Permit me in behalf of our agricultural Society to return you their sincere thanks and most grateful acknowledgement for your politeness and attention to them – Your letter was read to the Society and it was unanimously ordered to be inscribed into the books of the society – The information which it contained on horizontal ploughing was entirely satisfactory – Some parts of the catalogue will also be useful to us – I cannot conclude without tendering to you in my own individual capacity the feeling of the high respect and consideration which I entertain toward you –

Yours sincerely

FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON JEFFREYS

Red House N<sup>o</sup>. C May 11<sup>th</sup>. 1817.

Dr. Sir)

Having read an account of the Tunis-Broad tail mountain sheep in the 2 vol Memoirs Philo. Society, I was much pleased with the many good qualities of this breed, and am therefore induced to get into the stock of them – Judge Peters<sup>133</sup> observed page (211) that he obtained the original stock from Colo Pickering<sup>134</sup> then secretary of state, to whom they were sent by William Eaton Esq<sup>r</sup>, when Consul of the U. S. at Tunis –

There are some broad tailed sheep in my neighborhood, which are called by the owner Barbary sheep – He informed me a few days ago

<sup>131</sup> A draft of the letter is in Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>132</sup> For a diagram of Jefferson's plough, see Randall, *op. cit.*, I, 501.

<sup>133</sup> Richard Peters.

<sup>134</sup> Timothy Pickering was Secretary of State, 1795-1800. *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Index and Conspectus, p. 4.

that he bought them from Caroline county, or perhaps off the Rappahannock river Virginia, and that he obtained the ram from a Mr. Battle living on that river – He further observed, that he was informed that the original stock of this breed, were imported into this country by you<sup>135</sup> – The object of this letter is to ascertain this fact – Those that I saw the other day, of my neighbors, appeared to coincide with the description given of the genuine breed by Judge Peters –

They have remarkably broad tails, flap ears, no horns and yellow and black spots on the wool – As I intended to obtain this breed of my neighbour, I should be gratified to know, and therefore should esteem it as a particular favour, if you would inform me whether you have ever imported any of this breed, where they originally came from, and whether they are the same as those sent to Colo. Pickering by William Eaton Esq –

Any observation respecting the value of this breed, the manner of raising or crossing them profitably & would also be thankfully received<sup>136</sup> – Permit me to assure you of my highest respects and that I remain yours very sincerely –

N.B. Your communication enclosing a catalogue of Books and some remarks on horizontal ploughing was duly received<sup>137</sup> – for this politeness and goodness of yours you have not only mine, but the Societies warmest & most grateful acknowledgements –

FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON JEFFREYS

Red House No. C Nov. 3<sup>rd</sup>. 1818.

Dear Sir.

Not knowing the address of Col Randolph<sup>138</sup> your son-in-law the enclosed letter is sent to your care, with the request that you will fill out the address and forward it to him by mail or otherwise.

The Agricultural Society which I have formerly mentioned to you, continues its exertions with increased endeavours & success holding from them the appointment of corresponding Sec.ty the duty devolves on me of endeavouring to collect information by letter from the most distinguished farmers in the different parts of the union. To Col Randolph our views are directed, to whom we feel greatly indebted for having introduced amongst us (through your goodness)<sup>139</sup> so valuable

<sup>135</sup> William Jarvis, Consul at Lisbon, purchased the Merino sheep and sent this fine breed to Jefferson. *Jeffersonian Cyclopædia*, p. 804; Jefferson to Jeffreys, June 12, 1817, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>136</sup> Jefferson replied to this and Jeffreys' letter of May 8, 1817. Jefferson Papers, June 12, 1817, Library of Congress.

<sup>137</sup> See Jefferson to Jeffreys, March 3, 1817, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>138</sup> Thomas Mann Randolph.

<sup>139</sup> Jefferson to Jeffreys, March 3, 1817, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

an improvement as horizontal ploughing. We are anxious to learn his general system of improvement, but particularly his rotation of crops in connection with his modes of horizontal ploughing &c.

Accept Sir my respect & esteem  
and believe me to be very truly yours.

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Washington 4 Jan'y 1819

Sir

I have received and read with great pleasure the proceedings and the report of the Commissioners of the University of Virginia:<sup>140</sup> To improve the rising generation is a duty to God, the country & ourselves, those who do most toward it, deserve best of the nation; What man or what talents now in existence, can pretend to limit the progress of the human mind: Improvements in the United States have brought machines to do almost every thing but speak, and surely other branches of useful knowledge may be carried to the same perfection

Will you permit me, to take this opportunity to state to you, that I have for some time past, thought of writing to you, to ask you to inform me, for I know of no one else which could, how it happens that all the weakness which turned the federalist out, have been & are now the fashion: I have not done so, because it may be, that you were over done with letters,<sup>141</sup> and did not wish to touch politics: I stop here & smother my inclinations, to prevent another which might be disagreeable

Accept my warm thanks for your kind remembrance, and my sincere wishes, that the remainder of your useful life, may be as easy and pleasant to yourself, as the past has been beneficial to our Country, and believe me to be

Your friend

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Washington 28 Feby 1819

Sir

Doctor Hall<sup>142</sup> a friend of mine, one of the Representatives of North Carolina, brought with him to this place, a few bottles of Scuppernong wine, the best American, that I have tasted: I asked for two to send you, which he willingly gave & regretted, that application had not been

<sup>140</sup> Jefferson Papers, *passim*, Library of Congress.

<sup>141</sup> Jefferson replied to Macon, January 12, 1819. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>142</sup> Thomas H. Hall was a doctor, farmer, and politician. He was a member of the House of Representatives, March 4, 1817-March 3, 1825; and March 4, 1827-March 3, 1835. *Biographical Dictionary of American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1048.

sooner made, that more might have been sent. Our friend Governor Barbour<sup>143</sup> has kindly offered to contrive them to you: Accept them as a small mark of the great esteem entertained for you by

Your friend

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Buck Spring 20 Oct 1821

Sir

I did not receive your letter of the 19. ultimo. untill yesterday, it has no doubt been at Warrenton some time; but I live twelve mile from it & seldom go there

The letter with the copy of the one enclosed,<sup>144</sup> will not be seen by any person during my life, without your direction, though I incline to the opinion, that much good might be done, by a few well tried friends reading them; If I should live longer than you, am I to understand that after your death, you now have no objection to their publication then, this is my impression, and without being advised to the contrary, will be done; They will be immediately put under cover & sealed, directed to a friend, remain in my possession, to be delivered after my death, and not to be opened during your life<sup>145</sup>

Will you pardon, my stating to you, that I have long thought, many of the letters written to you, were written by persons who either knew or had heard of your candor & frankness, and calculated that the answer might possibly be made useful to them or their friends in their private affairs, & often mentioned to some of our Virginia friends, that I wished, they would communicate the opinion to you, in the most easy and friendly manner; Nothing prevented my doing it, but the great reunion, I knew you had to being plagued with letters besides I thought it rather too forward to write you, about your private concerns, and it seemed not unlike, the frog trying to equal the ox

No one thinks higher, of the two books written by Col Taylor<sup>146</sup> than I do, I however almost fear, it is too late for them to do the general majority of the people any good; too many persons have lived so long & so well on the public debt & Bank stock & by bank & other swindling, that it will be almost impossible for the honesty & the in-

<sup>143</sup> James Barbour was governor of Virginia, 1812-1814; member of United States Senate, Jan. 2, 1815-Mar. 7, 1825, when he resigned to become Secretary of War. *Biographical Dictionary of American Congress*, p. 112.

<sup>144</sup> Perhaps Macon was referring to Jefferson's letter of August 19, 1821. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>145</sup> When Jefferson replied to this letter, November 20 and 23, 1821, he consented for a few of Macon's friends to see the reply if Macon thought advisable. However, Jefferson questioned the expediency of making his letters public.

<sup>146</sup> Evidently Macon was referring to the two books of John Taylor, *Constitution Construed and the Constitution Vindicated* (1820); and *An Inquiry Into the Principles and Policy of the Government of the United States* (1814).

dustry of the nation to get clear of them; the news papers are generally on the paper & idle side, and they are generally as much depreciated as the bank bills<sup>147</sup>

I mentioned to you in a letter some years past, that the principles which turned the federalist out of power,<sup>148</sup> were not fashionable at Washington, nor is there much probability of their being shortly; for two years past, the U-S, have borrowed money in time of peace, to keep their vessels cruising on every sea, & to pay an army; but G-Britain does the same; and if we continue to follow her example, debt, taxes, & grinding the poor are certain consequences

After it was known, that President Madison, one of our best & most worthy men would sign the act, to establish the present bank of the U. S; all who were tired of the principles, which put them into power; immediately laid them aside, and went farther into constructive and implied powers<sup>149</sup> than had been done at any time before; new converts always go beyond those; who held the opinion before them; believe me I have not mentioned Mr. Madison, with an intent to injure him; and if I was desirous to do so, I could not calculate to succeed with you, no man respects him more than I do; but the errors of a great & good man often do much mischief

I am almost ashamed of the length of this letter, & yet it requires some exertion to stop, whenever one of the few, who maintain the old & safe principles, writes to me; I fear that I am apt to make the answer too long & perhaps tedious; that the evening of your life may be as happy as the morning has been useful to your country is the sincere wish of your friend

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Washington 2 Feby 1822

Sir

Your letter of the 23. of last November was received soon after my arrival at this place. The answer has been delayed, and under the belief, that the meeting of Congress, would add greatly to the number of your correspondents, & that it would be more acceptable, to wait till you had got clear of them

The plan of the federal court, seems to be to keep pace with Congress,<sup>150</sup> The decisions do not go beyond, the system of internal im-

<sup>147</sup> Macon opposed the rechartering of the Second Bank of the United States in 1811 and 1816.

<sup>148</sup> See Macon to Jefferson, January 4, 1819.

<sup>149</sup> Perhaps Macon was referring to the Bonus bill, for he was opposed to internal improvements.

<sup>150</sup> The Supreme Court decision in the *Dartmouth College* case, *McCullock vs. Maryland*, and *Cohen vs. Virginia* came in the sphere of loose construction of the Constitution. Naturally the particularist school interpreted the decisions of the court to be dangerous precedents.

provements, which has often been before the national Legislature & received the sanction of both branches; As Congress attempt to get power by stretching the constitution to fit its views, it is to be expected, if other departments do not check the attempt, that each of them, will use the same means to obtain power, & then destroy any check, that was intended by the division of power into three distinct & separate bodies; the Legislative, Executive, & Judicial; The great principle of the American government is election for short periods; yet in most of them, it has been departed from in the Judiciary; this is attempting to mix principles, which cannot be united, that is to make men by the tenure of office, independent & upright, who are not so from nature or principle: the tenure of good behavior is a violation of the elective principle, it remains to be determined whether government inviting two opposite principles will go on smoothly; Again in many of them, a check intended by having two branches in the legislature, generally elected by the same electors, some requiring one qualification & some another for the elector, but not one of them, seem to me, to have followed the law of nature, in the requisites for the elector or elected, in some advances have been made toward it; That two branches are necessary in the legislature is not doubted, & that they ought to be elected for short periods, and that the executive, would not be elected for a longer period than the legislature, & that Judges, ought not to hold their office during good behavior, but for a fixed time; but with great deference to the opinions of others; a plan will be stated, which has not that I know off been tried, it is this, Let the most numerous branch of the legislature be elected by all free whites of the age of 21. years, except paupers, lunatics, & those who have committed crime, & every elector be eligible, let the other branch be elected by the same sort of people above a given age; every elector as in the other case to be eligible, The age for this branch ought not to be less than 30 years, perhaps forty would be better; The right to vote for both branches would depend on age & moral character; The object to let every man have a part in government, & one branch at an age beyond youthful heat; Pardon my troubling you, with my crude thoughts on this great subject, it is more pleasing to communicate them, than the doings of others, which have not been approved, I fear we are approaching the state, the Israelites were in a few years after the death of Joshua

This letter is much longer than I expected when I begun, yet was I to follow my feelings, it would be longer; I know you do not wish to increase the number of your correspondents, & I would be the last man in the world to give you trouble, but while I live, I shall remain

Your friend

FROM DANIEL DREW<sup>151</sup>

Newbern N C August 18. 1823

Right Honourable Sir

Inclosed you will find an introductory letter from Mr Mathew Carey of Philadelphia In this place I am surrounded with Secrecy & meandation & repeated attempts of Jeopardy & taking away my life without any cause or investigation of them is one. They must admit me to be a Joseph without permitting me to witness happiness & though recently born they are endeavoruing to cut me off in the bud. I beg you will interfere & investigate the business—consult Mr Gaston<sup>152</sup> President of the Academy<sup>153</sup> on the subject. I have business of the greatest importance to communicate to you. I beg you will write to me as soon as possible.

I remain respectfully yours.

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Washington 21 May 1824

Sir

The acts for the bank of the United States,<sup>154</sup> the Tariff<sup>155</sup> and internal improvements,<sup>156</sup> seems to have put an end to legislating on the old republican principles, & to prove, that under any party name, unconstitutional measures may be adopted, names may please, but without the principles, which ought to attach to them they are useless or worse; the acts above mentioned & such as may be expected to follow tend I fear, to make Congress rather bargainers & traders than sound & fair legislators; to look forward, cannot be pleasing, specially to those who have been opposers to constructive & implied powers in the federal government; Bank notes if they deserve that name, have introduced a system of speculation swindling, which has no doubt, had some effect in leading measures, not formerly considered to be within the

<sup>151</sup> Daniel Drew was the classical teacher of the New Bern Academy in 1823. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>152</sup> Will Gaston was a member of the board of trustees of New Bern Academy in 1821 when Rev. Jonathan Otis Freeman tendered his resignation as principal of the institution. Perhaps Drew is referring to Judge William Gaston. Coon, C. L., *North Carolina Schools and Academies*, pp. 492-493.

<sup>153</sup> For a curriculum of New Bern Academy in 1823, see Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-59.

<sup>154</sup> Macon consistently opposed the establishment of a national bank on the basis of lack of constitutional authority to establish such an institution. Wilson, "The Congressional Career of Nathaniel Macon," *James Sprunt Historical Monographs*, No. 2, p. 25.

<sup>155</sup> In Macon's address before the Senate on May 4, 1824, he declared himself to be a patron of industry, but not at the expense of agriculture. *Annals of Congress*, 18th Session, p. 689.

<sup>156</sup> Macon opposed appropriations for internal improvements because the Constitution did not give Congress the authority to build roads and improve harbors at the expense of the Federal government. He used the same argument in 1824 as he did in 1817. Battle, Kemp P., "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," *James Sprunt Historical Monographs*, No. 2, p. 39.

power of the government, by the party<sup>157</sup> now supposed by many people to be in authority

I have written this much, because I could not consent to enquire after your health, without a few words on our affairs; that your days may be many & happy is the most sincere & constant wish of

Sir -

Yr. friend & obt sevt

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Washington 14 Jany 1826

Sir

Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance & attention, my much esteemed friend and relation Judge Henry Seawell<sup>158</sup> of Raleigh, who will hand you this, he is a worthy man of the old republican school in politics, & will I am sure receive your kind civilities, which will add another to the many obligations already conferred: He will take a son with him, who he is anxious to place in the Virginia University, & I am desirous, that the son, should be made acquainted with you, for whom I have long entertained the highest esteem & the most profound respect: If it should so happen that the Judge, should not visit Charlottesville, this will be delivered to you by his son William, when he shall apply for admission into the University. He is a graduate of our University<sup>159</sup>.

Accept the assurance of the continued good will & esteem  
of your friend

FROM NATHANIEL MACON

Washington 11 Feby 1826

Sir

A gentleman of North Carolina is now engaged, in writing its history,<sup>160</sup> he is very desirous to obtain information about its first settlement, & affairs, until the revolution: It has occurred to me that it was possible, that you could furnish much information, which no other

<sup>157</sup> Macon adhered to the original principle of the Republican or Jefferson party—strict construction of the Constitution.

<sup>158</sup> Henry Seawell was a member of the Assembly of North Carolina from Wake County for several years. He was appointed by President Monroe as one of the commissioners of the United States under the treaty of Ghent with Great Britain to make a settlement for the slaves taken during the War of 1812. In 1832 he was elected by the Assembly of North Carolina as a judge of the Superior Court for the third time, and held this position until his death, October 11, 1835. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VII, 296.

<sup>159</sup> William Seawell graduated from the University of North Carolina in the class of 1825. Grant, D. L., *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina*, pp. 552.

<sup>160</sup> Perhaps Macon referred to Francois Xavier Martin, who was living in Louisiana and engaged in writing the history of North Carolina which he published in 1829.

person now living could, under this belief, I take the liberty, to request you to favor me with such as you think proper, for his use; I beg leave to inform you, that I would not thus trouble you, did I believe, it could be got from any other person<sup>161</sup>

I am with great truth

Your friend & Hble Sevt -

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<sup>161</sup> Jefferson wrote Macon, February 24, 1826, that he never knew North Carolina history, and was too old a man to be called upon for the work. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

## BOOK REVIEWS

R. E. LEE: A BIOGRAPHY. By Douglas Southall Freeman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935. Vols. III, IV, pp. xi, 559, and vii, 594. \$7.50.)

"It is a terrible loss," Lee wrote in the first shock of Jackson's death. The significance of this "loss" was brought home to Lee in the months that soon followed. The tide of the Confederacy advanced to its high-water mark on that summer day in July in the wheat fields of Gettysburg; from thence it receded slowly but surely to that little porch at Appomattox from which Lee rode away into history, "his marching over; his battles done."

In the volumes under consideration Dr. Freeman carries his story forward from the cabin in the forest at Guiney's Station, through the two years of warfare that followed and on to the end in the house in Lexington to which the great soldier had retired to take up life anew and to help reconstruct not only his section, but the nation. In this period are comprised the Gettysburg campaign and its aftermath. "While the bones of the dead bleached on Cemetery Ridge, slow starvation crept along the coast and into the Southland." At 9 o'clock on the morning of May 4, 1864, the final campaign began and was only terminated a year later at Appomattox. In this interval Lee crowned his reputation as a strategist and a tactician with a performance that has not since been equaled.

The blame for Gettysburg is apportioned among Lee's subordinates, with Longstreet and Ewell the most conspicuous, but not the only ones at fault. Jackson's death and the necessary reorganization of the army created conditions which contained the seeds of disaster, if put to the test too soon. The necessities of the Confederacy compelled Lee to use his newly formed weapon before it could be tempered properly. "A. P. Hill's inexperience as a corps commander, Ewell's indecision in the face of discretionary orders, and Longstreet's slowness from whatever cause combined to create conditions which it was impossible to overcome." In answer to the charge "that Lee's forbearance in dealing with Longstreet showed him too much a gentleman to be a commander of the first rank," Dr. Freeman re-

marks: "It would be well for these critics to remember that the qualities of a gentleman, displayed to those in the ranks, contributed to far more victories than Longstreet ever cost Lee."

It was during the campaign from the Wilderness to the James and afterwards that Lee's genius reached its full fruition. The conflict between the states introduced war to the mechanical age. Strategically the railroad was dominant; tactically fire power first definitely shifted the balance of advantage from the offense to the defense. The use of field works was first employed by Lee at Fredericksburg and at Mine Run. As the strength of his army steadily declined and he was forced more and more to the defensive, Lee's use of field fortifications became routine. Combined with more effective fire power, Lee thus added considerably to his defensive strength. It is perhaps not too much to say that this combination prolonged the war for at least six months. Lee was enabled "successfully to resist a superior force with a steadily diminishing army." Gradually "the South came to fix its faith on the Army of Northern Virginia and on its commander. Elsewhere there was bickering and division; in Virginia there was harmony and united resistance. . . . Morale behind the line, not less than on the front of action, was sustained by Lee."

Dr. Freeman writes that the five qualities which give eminence to Lee's strategy are "his interpretation of military intelligence, his wise devotion to the offensive, his careful choice of position, the exactness of his logistics, and his well-considered daring. Midway between strategy and tactics stood four other qualities of generalship that no student of war can disdain. The first was his sharpened sense of the power of resistance and of attack of a given body of men; the second was his ability to effect adequate concentration at the point of attack, even when his force was inferior; the third was his careful choice of commanders and of troops for specific duties; the fourth was his employment of field fortification." This paragraph constitutes an excellent summary of Lee the soldier. "The army seeing him in battle, put his ability first. The civilian population, observing him from afar, rated his character even above his ability. . . . The foun-

dation stone of his military career was intellect of a very high order with a developed aptitude for war."

Dr. Freeman's "Lee" is a study in character as the product of a social system. He was peculiarly of his time and generation, the perfect flower of a unique civilization. "He accepted fame without vanity and defeat without repining." More than anyone else Lee "completely embodies the glamour, the genius, and the graces with which the South has idealized a hideous war. His passing set a period to the bloodiest chapter in the history of his country." As has been recently written: "Lee was the greatest romantic the world has ever seen, the perfect exemplar, the only man who ever did succeed in living his whole life according to the romantic ideal. . . . He deliberately put aside all his personal ambitions, the certainty of power, wealth, and praise, to follow the course his sense of honor dictated, accepting defeat, heartbreak, and what was worse to him, suspicion of his motives and acts. . . . He didn't have the easy choice of dying for his romantic ideals. He had to go on living . . . he had to ask for grace and pardon. . . . Romance is so much more real than realism, that it performs the impossible." Lee, having everything, yet sacrificed all save life.

In the last analysis, however, Lee failed as a leader of a Lost Cause because of the very qualities that made him a great man as well as a great soldier. "His consideration for others, the virtue of the gentleman, had been his vice as a soldier." Against "bewildering odds," Lee and his men fought bravely to avoid "the slow partition of the seceded states." Some critics contend that had he had more iron in his make-up and manner, the South's independence might have been achieved. This view overlooks the fact that the possession of such attributes would have been at the expense of others that make the Lee we know.

In these two concluding volumes of this monumental biography, Dr. Freeman completes his portrait of the great American soldier and gentleman who lost the long-drawn-out fight, yet kept his own soul—his ideals and all they symbolized—unsullied by hatred, greed, or bitterness. As Lee rode away from Appomattox he put the past behind him, turning to face the problems of reconstruction that he saw rising to plague his people and

the nation. As with his comrades-in-arms, he must begin life anew, under greatly changed circumstances and conditions. The cause for which he had fought was lost, his home was gone. Because of his prominence and fame, his every act and word were both guide and inspiration to the people for whom he had given the best that was in him. His responsibility in peace was great as it had been in war. With courage he faced the future. Duty, in its broadest sense, was his only guide—duty to his people, to his family and friends, and to himself. How well he succeeded in following the course he had deliberately chosen is history.

Lee is not to be put down as a rebel, but rather as one of the forces which have helped to weld the modern United States. And so as we close this superb record of one man's life we can understand that "There is no mystery in the coffin there in front of the windows that look to the sunrise."

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

GREAT NECK, N. Y.

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TRADE AND TRAVEL AROUND THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS BEFORE 1860. By Randle Bond Truett. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. xii, 192. \$2.50.)

This slender little volume is an interesting contribution to the literature of Southern history. The author, following the Turner school of historians, makes a study of Indian trails, trading paths, the development of roads, mail service, inns and taverns, and the tide of western migration as it swung around the southern terminus of the Appalachian Mountains into the gulf coast region. He limits his study to the four states of Georgia (to which he devotes chief attention), Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. To this region he applies the term "the Old Southwest." This terminology is confusing, since "the Old Southwest" is more generally applied to the territory south of the Ohio, or the Kentucky-Tennessee region. "Gulf Coast" would have been more appropriate for the region here considered. The author intentionally ends his study at 1830, since that date, with the coming of the railroad, marks a new era in travel and transportation.

Doctor Truett has compiled some very interesting descriptions of the early roads, vehicles, methods and incidents of travel, the postal service, inns and taverns, and ways of living; but he does not take full advantage of his opportunity. He fails to present a general picture of the sweep of population into the gulf coast or to depict the development of the region as a whole. The theme of the book itself is not clearly developed, the time element is often ignored, and the author's conclusions are at times at variance with the evidence he presents. Although he closes his study with 1830, he describes inns and taverns, built in 1836, as they were in 1845, and roads as they were in 1844. In the chapter on "The Traveler on the Road" Doctor Truett follows one traveler after another and seems to accept their views and descriptions as accurate, however divergent they may be. Consequently, unity is lacking as well as a general picture of the life of the travelers. Throughout the book long quotations are given which should have been omitted or else put in footnotes; and the facts are set down in an illogical and ill-digested manner, leaving the impression that the author failed to grasp their meaning.

Some of the author's judgments and conclusions are open to question. For instance, the picture he paints of Spanish occupation and of the dealings of the Spaniards with the Indians is wholly black. That the Spaniards mistreated the Indians is not denied, but that Indian hostility toward the white men resulted solely from Spanish aggressions is at least questionable. The statement that the Creek Indians occupied the "greater portion" of Georgia, followed by the explanation that they resided on the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers, is not clear. If the Indians resided only on these rivers they most assuredly did not occupy the "greater portion" of the State. Again the author fails to make himself clear when writing of the geography of the region. One reared in and familiar with the terrain of Georgia can with great difficulty follow the author in his peregrinations over the State.

Some minor errors have crept into the book. The Swedish traveler, referred to, was Peter Kalm, not Kolm; the term "skow" should be "scow"; and the appendix, pp. 139-141, is meaningless unless some unit of value or measurement is given

for the exports from the region. The author carelessly falls into inconsistencies in capitalization, as for instance de Soto and De Soto (pp. 11, 14), rivers and Rivers (pp. 7, 16), and Nations and nations (pp. 7, 20). Judge George Walton's charge to the Georgia grand jury is quoted twice (pp. 49, 79). The details of road surveyors' work (pp. 43-46) and the tables of latitude and longitude (pp. 57-59) detract from the reader's interest and should have been relegated to the appendix. While the bibliography is lengthy and valuable, one notes the absence of a valuable primary source for road building, namely, state laws. Worthwhile travel accounts such as G. W. Featherstonhough, *A Canoe Voyage Up the Minnay-Sotor*, and Charles Lanman, *Letters from the Allegheny Mountains*, are also missing.

While the author failed to seize the opportunity to write a systematic and general treatise on the subject suggested in the title of his book, he has marked out the trail for further study and given us a valuable and interesting work on the development of the gulf coast region. The list of inns and taverns is the most complete one yet compiled for the region and the study of the national postal service and post road through Georgia to New Orleans is thorough and complete.

FLETCHER M. GREEN.

EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA.

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EVOLUTION OF EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774-1789. By Jennings B. Sanders. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. ix, 213. \$2.00.)

In view of the keen present-day interest in our Federal Constitution and the ways in which it limits New Deal legislation, studies of the political ideas and experiences of the founders of our government are of more than passing interest. Nowhere are these ideas and experiences better revealed than in the sources of information relating to the Continental Congress. For this reason, Professor Sanders's work is most pertinent. The divergent political views of the Revolutionary period concerning the form of government best suited to this country are impressively, if subtly, revealed.

Between 1774 and 1781 the Continental Congress undertook to perform all executive as well as legislative functions. Committees, composed of members, were set up to supervise such matters as war administration, naval affairs, foreign relations, financial problems, and commercial activities. These committees were given very little actual power, since they had to report to and get authority from the whole Congress in matters even of a most trivial nature. This situation was due to a strong fear on the part of a majority of the Congress, controlled, it seems, by the Adams-Lee faction, that the delegation of any real authority to the executive committees would lead to loss of power by a "Republican" government and the erection of a monarchical form of government.

The committees thus established by the Congress were hopelessly inefficient. Their membership was constantly changing, with the result that continuity of work and of policy was not adequately maintained. Moreover, since no individual was vested with authority, responsibility for shortcomings was difficult to fix. Committeemen justly complained of their inability to serve on the committees and to attend, at the same time, to their duties in the Congress. There were constant delays in getting the Congress to settle important as well as unimportant matters presented by the committees.

As a result of the acknowledged failure of this system of executive management, boards were established, composed partly of members of the Congress and partly of non-members. These boards continued to have many of the faults of the old committees, and, like them, were usually dominated in each instance by some one individual who was able and willing to give his time and efforts to the duties assigned. Thus "gradually but surely," says Professor Sanders, "the forces of 'Executivism' gained control, and during the year 1780-1781 they succeeded in establishing departments under single heads."

The creation of these new departmental heads, however, did not completely silence opposition to such a system of government. The "Republicans" maintained that the departments were dominated by French influence and that France, aided by the

now powerful Morris faction in the Congress, would eventually succeed in establishing a monarchy or oligarchy in this country.

Due in large measure to the statesmanship of the men controlling the newly created executive departments, the system demonstrated its superiority over the old committee system and established itself as a permanent and essential feature of the United States government. Generals Benjamin Lincoln and Henry Knox wisely supervised the Department of War, Robert R. Livingston and John Jay the Department of Foreign Affairs, and Robert Morris the all-important Treasury. Two of these persons, Jay and Knox, continued to head departments under the new constitutional government set up in 1789. Professor Sanders concludes, therefore, that the framers of the new government "based their considerations of an executive in considerable part upon the experiences of the Continental Congress with respect to that branch of government."

Altogether, the author has done a fine piece of scholarly research and has given us the results in clearly written and well organized form. Into the fabric of his story he has nicely woven many quotations from his oft-cited sources. The material is presented in analytical rather than interpretative fashion, thus in most instances leaving the reader free to form his own conclusions.

In this little volume, notably free from typographical errors, the University of North Carolina Press has given us a superbly made and beautifully printed book—something all too rare to-day.

F. W. CLONTS.

WAKE FOREST COLLEGE.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

The North Carolina Historical Commission receives requests for early numbers of the *North Carolina Manual*, *Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association*, the *North Carolina Booklet*, and the *North Carolina Day Program*. These publications are out of print. Anyone possessing duplicates is requested to send them to the secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C. The supply thus accumulated will be used to serve the cause of North Carolina history by filling gaps in the collections of libraries and students.

Back numbers of the *North Carolina Historical Review* may be secured from the secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission at the regular price of \$2 per volume, or 50 cents per number.

Colonel Fred. A. Olds died on July 2. There is no definite information about his birthplace, but he was probably born in 1859. As a young man he came to Raleigh, where he engaged in newspaper work. At different times he was connected with *The Raleigh News*, *The News and Observer*, and the *Raleigh Times*. In 1887 he established in the old Agricultural Building the North Carolina Hall of History. From 1914 until a few months before his death he was in the employ of the North Carolina Historical Commission, in which organization he served as Collector for the Hall of History. He had made himself widely known and loved, especially by the school children, whom he delighted to guide about the capital city. The great majority of the relics in the Hall of History today, as well as a considerable portion of the manuscripts in the Historical Commission's archives, were brought in by him. Due to bad health and advanced age, he had been retired in the summer of 1934.

Mr. Joseph Carlyle Sitterson, collector for the Hall of History since October, 1934, has resigned and is now instructor and graduate student in the department of history of the University of North Carolina.

Miss Mattie Erma Edwards of Hookerton, N. C., has been appointed collector for the Hall of History. A graduate of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, Miss Edwards has pursued graduate studies at Radcliffe and at the University of North Carolina. From the latter institution she holds the degree of Master of Arts.

Professor R. H. Shryock of Duke University has been granted leave of absence for 1935-36 to be fellowship secretary to the Social Science Research Council. In his place Professor W. H. Callcott of the University of South Carolina will serve as visiting professor of history.

Dr. Joseph J. Mathews, A.B., A.M., Duke; Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed instructor in history at Duke for 1935-36.

Doctors John T. Lanning and Alan K. Manchester of the Duke history department have been promoted from the rank of instructor to that of assistant professor.

New members of the State College history department are David A. Lockmiller, Ph.D., University of North Carolina, 1935; and L. Walter Seegers, who has done graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania and who for the past year has been teaching at Wagner College, on Long Island.

Professor L. C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina taught in the second session of the summer school of the University of Virginia. During the coming winter and spring quarters he will be on Kenan leave, and will engage in research in mediæval medical manuscripts in various European centres. He and Professor W. E. Caldwell are the authors of *Ancient and Mediæval History*, a college text which will be published during the coming year.

Professor M. B. Garrett of the University of North Carolina is the author of a volume, *The Estates General of 1789: Problems of Composition and Organization*, to be published during the coming year by the Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund of the American Historical Association.

Dr. J. C. Russell of the University of North Carolina is the author of an article, "Medical Writers of Thirteenth Century England," *Annals of Mediæval History*, July, 1935.

Doctors J. C. Russell, Cecil Johnson, and C. H. Pegg of the University of North Carolina have been promoted from the rank of instructor to that of assistant professor. They are now instructing in the general freshman social science course, which has replaced the old modern European history course. Professor C. P. Spruill, of the economics department, is chairman of the committee, and Dr. Pegg is the executive secretary.

Howard K. Beale, Ph.D. of Harvard University, author of *The Critical Year* and other historical works, visiting associate professor at the University of Chicago in 1934, and for the past year a student of the life of Theodore Roosevelt, is this year visiting professor of American history in the University of North Carolina. He is giving courses in the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the recent history of the United States.

Dr. H. T. Lefler has resigned as head of the history department of State College, and is now professor of American history in the University of North Carolina. Most of his courses are in the colonial period.

Mr. Robert D. Meade, formerly an instructor at Chapel Hill and visiting professor at the University of Virginia, has returned to the University of North Carolina as instructor in the freshman social science course. Messrs. J. C. Sitterson and D. M. Lacy are part-time instructors in the same course.

The Southern Writers' Conference, under the auspices of the Extension Division of the University of North Carolina, was held at Blue Ridge, N. C., August 5-17. Among those present were Professor Phillips Russell, the director; Judge Robert W. Winston; and Dr. C. C. Crittenden.

Carried on with the aid of federal funds, the restoration of Fort Raleigh, on Roanoke Island, is progressing. The stockade around the area, the chapel, and other buildings have been com-

pleted, while still others are in the process of construction. Since the removal in July of the last toll on any of the bridges leading to the island, the number of visitors to the fort has increased enormously. There was held on August 18 a celebration of the 348th anniversary of the birth of Virginia Dare.

In August appeared *A Southern View of the Invasion of the Southern States and the War of 1861-65*, by Captain S. A. Ashe. (Pp. 1-75. Privately printed.) From the author (whose address is Raleigh, N. C.) paper-bound copies may be had for \$1.25 each, and cloth-bound copies for \$1.75 each.

Significant articles relating to North Carolina history in recent publications are: William H. Gehrke, "The Ante-Bellum Agriculture of the Germans in North Carolina," *Agricultural History*, July; Justin Williams, "English Mercantilism and Carolina Naval Stores, 1705-1776," *The Journal of Southern History*, May, 1935; H. M. Douty, "Early Labor Organization in North Carolina, 1880-1900," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, July, 1935; D. J. Whitener, "The Temperance Movement in North Carolina," *ibid.*; Philip Auchampaugh, "A Forgotten Journey of an Antebellum President: The Trip and Addresses of James Buchanan Delivered During His Journey to the Commencement of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1859," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, July, 1935.

The following articles by Dr. Archibald Henderson have appeared on the dates listed in the Sunday editions of *The News and Observer* and other North Carolina newspapers. "Statesman without Biographer" (Matthew Locke), May 26; "Washington, Lucky in War, Unlucky in Real Estate," June 2; "Henderson Throws New Light on Exploits of the 'Black Boys,'" June 9; "William Hooper," June 16; "Willie Jones," June 23; "Henderson Sides with Carolina Myth of John Paul Jones," June 30; "New Evidence of John Paul Jones and His Carolina Connections," July 7; "Tell Long History of Lake Drummond Canal,"

July 14; "Joseph Hewes, Signer," July 21; "Gave John Paul Jones Big Chance to Stage Comeback," July 28; "Adams and Jefferson Slandered Hewes," August 11.

The August number of the *Southern Magazine* is the North Carolina number. Compiled by Mrs. John H. Anderson, former Historian General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, it contains articles on various phases of the State's history. Among the articles is one by Dr. A. R. Newsome on racial elements in the population of North Carolina.

Recent accessions to the manuscript collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission include: 17 Transylvania County registration books; the Raleigh Banking and Trust Company Papers: 111 manuscript letters, deeds, plats, maps, and specifications, presented by Mr. Lawrence E. Blanchard of Raleigh; registration books of the City of Raleigh, 1921-1933: 69 volumes; the Thad P. Hall Collection, 1856-1900: 21 account books, presented by Mrs. B. W. Bray, of Coinjock, N. C.; the Badgett Papers, 1772-1889: 402 letters, receipts, accounts, and miscellaneous papers, presented by Mrs. Van Daniel, Route 1, Ruffin, N. C.; the J. P. Clark Papers, 1859-1862: 19 letters, presented by J. P. Clark, Pantego, N. C.; and the Mrs. L. E. Lansdell Papers: 69 letters and a receipt book, 1850-1877.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. Ben Franklin Lemert is an instructor of economic geography in Duke University, Durham, N. C.

Mrs. Julia Cherry Spruill is a member of the Institute for Research in Social Science in the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Mr. Hunter Dickinson Farish is working on his doctorate in history in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Miss Elizabeth Gregory McPherson is employed in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME

Mr. William H. Gehrke is a superintendent in the employ of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, and resides in Greensboro, N. C.

Mr. Thomas Robson Hay is engaged in advertising and editorial work, and resides in Great Neck, Long Island, N. Y.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt is chief library assistant of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C.

Dr. William Alexander Mabry is an instructor in history in Duke University, Durham, N. C.

Dr. W. G. Bean is a professor of history in Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

Dr. Marguerite Bartlett Hamer is an assistant professor of history in the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Miss Elizabeth Gregory McPherson is employed in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Miss Mary Lindsay Thornton is in charge of the North Carolina Collection in the University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dr. Marvin Lucian Skaggs is a professor of history in Campbell College, Buies Creek, N. C.

Dr. Edd Winfield Parks is a professor of English in the Banners Elk School of English, Banners Elk, N. C. He will teach in the University of Georgia next year.

Dr. Ben Franklin Lemert is an instructor of economic geography in Duke University, Durham, N. C.

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